

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

Education in the presbytery of Jedburgh in the eighteenth century

Thesis

How to cite:

Glaister, Robert T.D. (1984). Education in the presbytery of Jedburgh in the eighteenth century. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 1983 The Author



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000f7e8>

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk

D 51284/84

UNRESTRICTED

EDUCATION IN THE PRESBYTERY OF JEDBURGH

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

by

Robert T. D. Glaister, M.A., M.Ed.

A thesis presented
for the degree of Ph.D.
in the School of Education
of the Open University,
November 1983.

Date of submission: 1.11.83

Date of award: 13.3.84

ProQuest Number: 27777466

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent on the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 27777466

Published by ProQuest LLC (2020). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All Rights Reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

Education in the Presbytery of Jedburgh in the Eighteenth Century - an abstract

This thesis is concerned with the history of educational provision in that part of Roxburghshire which comprised the Presbytery of Jedburgh, between the Education Acts of 1696 and 1803. The principal sources were manuscripts and documents from the area itself: church, parish and local government records, and the papers of families and estates. What was discovered about education was analysed in the context of society in Roxburghshire generally and also in the light of other local studies of education in Scotland.

Data was gathered on selection and appointment procedures, the provision and quality of schoolbuildings, and the schoolmasters' income from salary, fees, mortifications and other emoluments. In addition an examination was made of the careers and qualifications of schoolmasters, of their role in the community at large, of the presbytery's role in education, and of the extent and nature of private provision.

It is likely that all parishes were provided with a salaried schoolmaster at the beginning of the century offering a curriculum of the 3 Rs and possibly Latin. The developments during the century led to better salaries and conditions for the schoolmasters, but also to a two-tier system in which Latin was only taught in the burghs. There was little expansion of the public sector of education, but an increasing contribution was made by private teachers. Their contribution was, however, limited to elementary education; there was no evidence of a widening of the curriculum.

A blurring of roles and responsibilities led to the conclusion that the control and administration of education was much more pragmatic in the first part of the century than might have been expected. In the second half of the century an increasing secularisation of education was noticed which coincided with an expanding commitment by the parochial schoolmaster to non-educational activities.

CONTENTS

List of Figures

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter One Upon Reading the Act of 1696	1
Two Introductions	
(i) the study	15
(ii) the countryside	21
(iii) government locally	26
(iv) population statistics	41
(v) trade, agriculture and industry	51
Three Burgh Schools	
(i) preliminary	64
(ii) selection and appointment	68
(iii) income	
a. salary	82
b. mortifications	89
c. fees	102
d. other emoluments	107
(iv) curricular matters	116
(v) school buildings	128
(vi) management.	140
Four Parish Schools	
(i) preliminary	149
(ii) selection and appointment	153
(iii) income	
a. salary	166
b. mortifications	179
c. fees	183
d. other emoluments	190
e. total income	197
(iv) curricular matters	200
(v) school buildings.	210
Five Careers and Qualifications	
(i) qualifications	230
(ii) careers - parish schoolmasters	237
(iii) " - burgh "	242
(iv) discussion.	246

		<u>Page</u>
Chapter Six	Private Teachers	253
Seven	The Schoolmaster in the Community	286
Eight	Inter-Parish Cooperation	304
Nine	The Role of the Presbytery	308
Ten	To 1803 and after	
	(i) upon re-reading the Act of 1696	336
	(ii) up to the Act of 1803	340
	(iii) the Act of 1803	349
	(iv) 1803 and after.	352
Appendix One	The 1656 Contract, Jedburgh.	357
Two	The Orrock Bequest, Hawick.	361
Three	Lists of named Teachers	
	a. burgh schools	364
	b. parish schools	367
	c. private teachers.	371
Bibliography		375

List of Figures

		<u>Page</u>
Figure 1	Map of Roxburghshire in the 1790s	14
2	Roxburghshire Rivers	20
3	Heritors' Records	29
4	Number of Heritors by Parish	30
5	Kirk Session Records	33
6	Population Figures by Parish	44
7	Population Figures , urban v. rural	46
8	Burgh School Salaries	86
9	Parish School Salaries	175
10	Poor Scholars' Fees	188
11	Parish Schoolmasters' Income	198
12	Ages of Caerlanrig Pupils	207
13	Attendance of Caerlanrig Pupils	207
14	Plan of Minto School	219
15	Schoolmasters' Qualifications	232
16	Length of Service	237
17	School Locations	252
18	School-age population	281

Chapter One

Upon Reading the Act of 1696

The Act for Settling of Schools in 1696 concludes the attempts throughout the seventeenth century to establish a legislative framework for a school in every Scottish parish. That it remained unamended until 1803 has given it an important place in the history of Scottish education. The significance of that place has, however, been subject to varying interpretations.

Bain (1974) has traced chronologically the development of different views of the Act and has shown that the sweeping general statements of earlier writers have now been tempered by the findings of local research. It is now unacceptable to argue that, because earlier acts were ineffective, there needed to be a new act, or, conversely, because there was an act in 1696, the earlier acts must have been ineffective. Local historians have, more recently, shown that in certain presbyteries or counties the provision of schools was quite widespread so that they can conclude of the national system that the 1696 Act was not universally necessary to create schools. More detailed local studies now present the issues in a more sophisticated way: the question, it is said, is not of the creation of a school or the existence of a schoolmaster, but whether there was a 'legal salary' and a 'commodious house for a school' or, indeed, any additional benefits or conditions over and above the requirements of this act; general statements about the Act have to take account of such findings, sparse though they currently are.

If /

If we ever have a complete range of local histories, then we can assess accurately the situation at any time. How many schools existed prior to 1646, how many created immediately afterwards, and similarly for 1696? How many schoolhouses existed, and under what conditions? How much was the schoolmaster paid, by what method and how regularly? Did recalcitrant heritors come to heel? Were the sanctions often invoked and with what success? Such information would certainly validate a more general assertion about the state of education and the needs or effects of the particular Acts. Until such a pattern of evidence is available, one can only make firm judgements from local history about the workings of an Act in that particular locality as Simpson (1947) has done for Aberdeenshire, Bain (1965 and 1974) for Stirlingshire and West Lothian, and Beale (1953) for Fife. Jessup (1931) and Boyd (1961) have examined Angus and Ayrshire, but their conclusions have to be regarded with some caution as Withrington (1970(i)) has indicated.

On a wider level what one can do, however, is to study the wording of the Acts to determine what they say. I have no reason to believe that the final wording of an Act was not given careful consideration to ensure that the outcome represented what the legislators of the day intended. They may have been misguided in their appreciation of the needs of society, they may have misread the current educational provision, but their purposes should be clear and are clear. With particular reference to the 1696 Act, we know about the salary range, who was to pay the salary, how often, etc., and, as we have noted, the recommendations were unaltered for over a century. Without the comprehensive survey /

3

survey of the state of education prior to 1696, one basis on which to speculate about the needs of the time is to analyse the import of the 1696 Act and compare it with previous Acts. The progression from the 1616 Act of Privy Council and the 1633 Ratification through the 1646 Act to the 1696 Act is obvious and has been readily accepted by scholars. The bringing together of the Education Acts of the seventeenth century in the Maitland Club Miscellany has probably been instrumental in this regard. For our purpose here, the comparison of the 1646 and 1696 Acts is the most fruitful.

Little insight is needed to conclude that the 1696 legislators had before them a copy of the 1646 Act; the similarity is too conspicuous. If there was a stimulus to have a new act and the previous act was used as a model, then the additions and alterations have great significance not only for emphasising what should be different about subsequent practice, but also as indicating what may have been deemed deficient in previous practice. The conspicuous similarity can lead us, nonetheless, to conclude that there can have been no major changes in the circumstances or needs of society in the last half of the seventeenth century to necessitate any dramatic overhaul or re-orientation of the 1646 Act. There is no call for more schools in larger parishes, or grammar schools in burghs; the principal aim is still a school in every parish with the underlying belief in education "as an indispensable means of changing and improving society", albeit "a reformed but static type of society" (Bain, 1974, p.1 and p.4). The control of education is still at local level; no fines to be paid to the monarch as in the 1496 Act. Provision has to be made in every /

4.

every parish for a schoolhouse and for a salary for the master, to be financed by a tax on the local landowners: these are the threads that run through both Acts.

There are two major amendments which have attracted attention and which concern the procedures for implementing these broad aims. Firstly, the heritors are given the right to place half of their share of the tax on their tenants. Secondly, the Commissioners of Supply replace the "twelve honest men" as the arbiters in a dispute.

Two other amendments have raised less comment. In 1646 the school had to be founded and the schoolmaster appointed "by advyse of the presbitrie", while in 1696 this had become "by advice of the heritors and minister of the paroch". It may be that there was in practice no diminution in the role of the presbytery. Certainly the presbytery by the Act of 1693 was responsible for the examination of schoolmasters as to their sufficiency, qualification and deportment and it was the presbytery which was to initiate any action with the Commissioners of Supply. But it is a little surprising that, at a time when the presbytery was being recognised as a very important part of the Kirk organisation (1697 saw the General Assembly's Barrier Act which required Assembly legislation to be first approved by presbyteries), this small amendment should be made. On the other hand, it may be a positive indication of "the growing corporateness of the heritors" as Bain (1965, p.64) suggests. This may also explain the change from the 1646 use of 'congregation' predominantly to the 1696 use of 'place' initially with 'parish' thereafter.

A fifth amendment that has been noted is, in fact, not an amendment. Scotland (1969, p.53) implies and Withrington (1963, p.108, n.1) states that the following clause was new to the 1696 Act: "by and attoure the casualties which formerly belonged to reidaris and clerkis of Kirk Sessions". Certainly that point is absent from the 1646 Act as in the printed Acts, but is in the manuscript version of the Act, a reading of which makes it clear that one whole line was omitted by those responsible for the printed Acts.

The most controversial change is in the wording of the titles to the Acts and this will be examined later.

The need for the first two major amendments has, however, received varying interpretations. A bleak picture is presented by H G Graham (1901) who describes the 1633 Act as "notoriously ineffective", and of the 1646 Act (presumably 1646, although he writes 1643) he comments:

"It was all very well to appoint 'twelve honest men' to look after the heritors; but who was to look after the 'twelve honest men'? Whether they were lairds, lords, or farmers, they belonged to the very class that strenuously objected to be 'stented' and the tenants left the law alone in deference to themselves" (p.419).

But even the amendments contained in the 1696 Act don't, for Graham, improve the situation. "Never was there a wiser law, and never was a law more studiously disregarded." This view of the heritors is echoed by Kerr (1910, p.198): "The heritors were niggardly and, in the presence of events that affected them in a closer and more personal way, were indifferent about education". An aversion to taxation is probably an innate human characteristic so /

6

so that the success of any tax will be attested by the effectiveness of the sanctions against defaulters.

Another view of these amendments is that they provide evidence of a more determined and realistic effort to collect the tax. "It was this power of compulsion that saved the measure from the fate of the Acts of 1616 and 1633" (Morgan, 1927, p.70). More recently Scotland (1969, pp.53-54) says: "The strength of the Act lay in an effort to enforce it ... Before the Act of 1696 Parliament was content to state what should be done, without ensuring that it was or providing some necessary funds."

No doubt the heritors would have argued that it was only just that the tenants should, in some part, support the local school, but it is dangerous to conclude with Graham that there was little provision prior to 1696. "Parish after parish during the latter half of the seventeenth century, accordingly, marks down with the uniform lamentation in its records that it is without a schoolmaster, 'there being no maintenance'" (p.419).

Modern educational historians, like Beale, Withrington and Bain, who have examined local records have gleaned evidence of the existence of many schools, at least in the Lowlands: "Nearly ninety per cent of all the parishes in these counties (Lothians Fife and Angus) are known to have had schools of some kind" (Withrington, 1965, p.129).

This has led general historians to acknowledge that "In the seventeenth century it is equally plain that it was usual for a country parish in the Lowlands to have its school" (Donaldson, 1974, p.224), /

p.224), and "... by the end of the seventeenth century most Lowland parishes had schools of some sort " (Ferguson, 1978, p.95). And it may even be that the "interim statement" of Beale (1955, p.7) is more accurate: " educationally Scotland (English speaking Scotland - the Gaelic district presents us with an universal blank) was rather better off before 1690 than for fifty or sixty years after that date".

The primary sources, therefore, lead one to believe that the 1696 Act was not universally necessary to initiate the provision of schools. The sweeping generalisations of earlier historians about the state of education in seventeenth century Scotland are untrue and are often based upon inaccurate use of primary sources, as Withrington (1965, p.124, n.2) illustrates. Indeed, even though the 1696 Act represented the legal position for over one hundred years, it is difficult, in the light of the great similarity with the 1646 Act, to justify the view of the 1696 Act as the beginning of the parochial school system, "the charter of Scottish education" (Morgan, 1927) or even "the administrative norm for the future" (Ferguson, 1978).

Why then did the Act appear as it did? As with all educational measures, the reason will be an amalgam of various pressures: political, economic, social, religious, etc. The 1646 Act had been rescinded and there was, therefore, a need to re-introduce something which would represent legally the improvement that had been made upon the 1633 Act. The re-establishment of Presbyterianism would herald the necessity to replace an Education Act which made reference to Bishops. The economic hardship of the 1690s /

1690s would expose the limitations of the 1633 Act which made no provision for a minimum salary.

The economic argument is put forward most strongly by Withrington (1970(i)), who holds that the "widespread economic distress" made schoolmasters' salaries less secure, hence the need for the Act. To some extent this is countered by Bain (1974) using the strategy adopted by Withrington with regard to the 1803 Act. Withrington had argued that inflation would not be the sole reason for the 1803 Act because there had been inflation earlier without an Education Act. Bain points out there had been years of hardship prior to the 1690s which went unaccompanied by legislation. In addition, although grain was short in 1695, it was the 1696 harvest which "failed badly and universally" (Smut, 1972, p.225). No doubt the legislators considering the new act in the first ten days of October 1696 would be aware of that year's disaster, but there was no reason for them to foresee the disasters to follow. The economic argument is of significance, but it cannot stand on its own and Bain holds that it cannot be used to substantiate Withrington's interpretation of a vital 'clue', namely that the 1696 Act refers to the "settling" of schools as distinct from the "founding" of schools in 1646.

With the evidence of local educational history and economic factors Withrington (1970(i), p.110) maintains that the change in title indicates the realisation of changed circumstances:

"'Settling' in the later seventeenth century meant 'securing' or 'making safe', and suggests the hypothesis that the act was intended not (or, at least, not only) to establish new schools but to ensure that, in a period of widespread economic distress/

9

distress in the mid-1690s, the heritors paid their salaries to schoolmasters already in office in order to guarantee the continued performance of their duties."

By-passing Bain's charge that perhaps Withrington may be falling into the error of trying to impose on all local events a hypothesis about national events derived from one source, it would appear that a useful and proper initial step is, as we have already said, to examine the Acts themselves, perhaps the primary source. In a note, Withrington (1963, p.108, n.1), in support of his view that the changed title indicates a change of emphasis, cites two respects in which the 1696 Act differs from the 1646 version:

"The heritors now did not carry the whole burden of the stent for a school and for a master's maintenance; half was to be paid by their tenants - an attempt to soften the blow of reintroducing the more exacting demands of the previous act? And the way was closed in 1696 to parsimonious heritors who wished to avoid paying the full stated stipend by deducting from the agreed sum those fees which a schoolmaster would receive from his Kirk Session for service as reader and clerk - clearly implying that this stratagem had been successfully tried in earlier days."

We now know that only the first of these is correct as the second arose from an error in the printed acts. That does not necessarily invalidate Withrington's view, but it does suggest a closer look at the Acts is warranted.

Bain argues that it is a large assumption to say with Withrington that "parliament deliberately gave these statutes different titles". The present writer's view is that the Acts are so similar that the 1646 /

1646 Act must have been the starting point for the 1696 legislators and that the alterations must have been deliberate. With reference to the title, this is reinforced when one sees from the Parliamentary Papers that the 1696 Act in its first and second readings was entitled 'for founding of schools' and only after that, with other amendments, did it become 'for settling of schools'. Unfortunately we do not have the other amendments minuted so that we cannot prove without doubt what was in the earlier draft, but it is clear that the introduction of the word 'settling' into the title was deliberate.

If we then compare some corresponding phrases from the two Acts we find the following:

<u>1646</u>	<u>1696</u>
the founding thereof	the establishing and settling thereof
a School founded	a school settled and established
modify a stipend	settle and modify a stipend
for maintenance of a school	for settling and maintaining of a school
to establish a school	to establish a school
modify a stipend	settle and modify a stipend

At first sight one could deduce that in 1646 'found' and 'establish' were used synonymously and that in 1696 'establish' was adopted uniformly. Alternatively one could say that where the 1646 Act used 'found' the 1696 version opted for 'establish and settle'. The difficulty with the latter is that the 1696 version also adds 'settle' to 'maintain' and 'modify'. There isn't even a consistent temporal connection: while 'establish and settle' could be taken to be the first and second steps in the procedure, this is /

11

is confused by the subsequent use of 'settle and establish' and 'settle and maintain'. Consulting Jamieson and the Scottish National Dictionary does not throw any more detailed light on the precise meaning of 'settle'. Both refer to the settling of ministers: Jamieson, 'to fix him in a particular charge' adds that it is synonymous with 'place'; Scottish National Dictionary, 'to instal a minister', 'to ratify his appointment'.

Whether the word appears in the title because it had been added to the body of the statute, or whether the amendment to the text suggested the change in title, we cannot be certain. It might have been a seventeenth century 'buzz' word which was suggested as a more appropriate title, perhaps in the light of the 1693 Act for Settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church, and then it was just added to the text almost at random. Certainly there is little consistency in the application: establish and settle, settle and establish, establish on its own. The evidence would not lead to a definite conclusion that 'settle' was used to indicate the making secure of something already established; on the other hand, it has a greater element of continuity in its connotation than, say, 'found'. The word was probably used because it suggested both things: the setting up from scratch and the attainment of greater certainty. The 1693 Act is also a relevant contemporary precedent, but, when the legislators really meant 'making safe', they said so, as in the 1707 Act for Securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government.

What then of other alterations? Some represent additions which are to clarify or expedite the recommendations. The schoolmaster's /

schoolmaster's salary was to be paid yearly at two terms and the later Act specifies these terms as Whitsunday and Martinmas. Both Acts penalised heritors who were a year behind in the payment of their proportion and directed that the schoolmaster take up letters of horning to collect the outstanding sums. Should this fail, the 1696 Act required "that the Lords discuss the samen summarly without abideing the course of the roll".

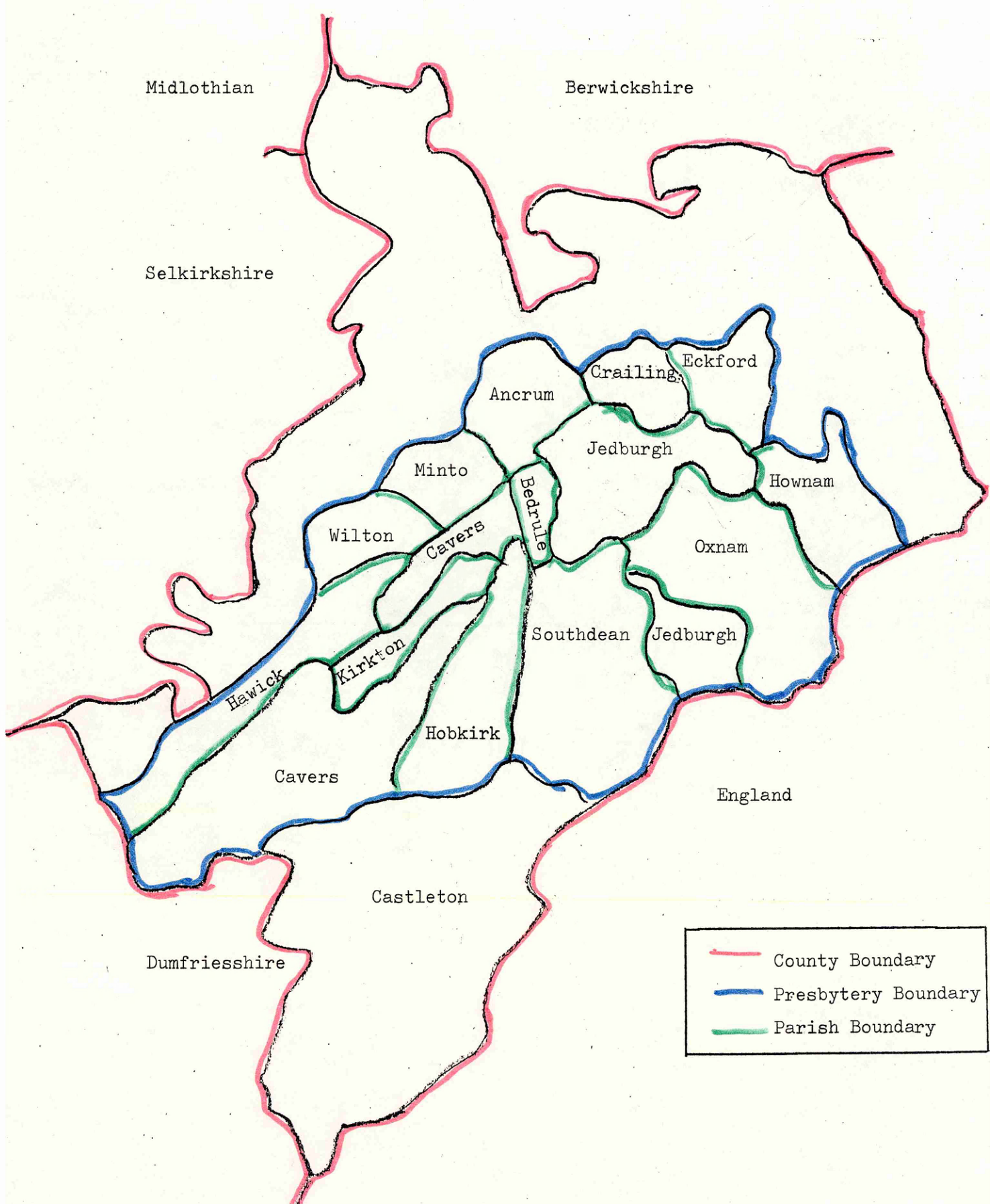
Other changes are to up-date the legislation, to make it conform with current circumstances and usages. The initiator of the Act becomes 'Our Sovereign Lord' rather than the Estates. The "rent of stock and teind proportionallie to the worth thereof" is given as the 'valued rent'. Appeals against unfair apportionment go to the Commissioners of Supply, Sheriff, "or other Judge competent" in place of the "Lordis of Secrete Counsall or Session". We might also include the replacement of the 'twelve honest men' as arbiters by the Commissioners of Supply who were created in 1667 and not in existence at the time of the earlier act. The textual study, therefore, suggests this change as up-dating, introducing the current legal procedure, rather than stiffening the sanctions against reluctant heritors.

Lastly there is the long section which concludes the 1696 Act and which has no precedent in earlier acts. Two matters are referred to: vacant stipends can be used to provide schools and school-mastery, except in Argyll which is covered by a previous act, and "all former Lawes Customs and constitutions" about the establishment and maintenance of schools are ratified in so far as they are not altered by the present act. This section is probably only a piece of legislative 'good housekeeping', but to that extent it ties /

ties in with the other minor alterations which are to clarify or up-date.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from a close study of the wording of the Act? Smout (1972, p.83) says: "In 1696 a further act restored the provisions of 1646 with means of enforcement 'more suitable to the age' ... " The phrase 'more suitable to the age' characterises not only the means of enforcement but the whole Act. If one assumes that the provisions of the Act reflect what parliament felt was necessary to meet the needs of the time, then there was still a need for the 1646 Act because the legislators made only one significant addition in 1696, the tenants' responsibility. There was still a perceived need for initiating and for making permanent, but neither was given a greater emphasis in the 1696 provisions. The question of whether the focus of the actual need had moved from quantity to quality will be answered by the findings of more local research and it is in that context that the present study of the Presbytery of Jedburgh is being undertaken.

FIGURE ONE MAP OF ROXBURGHSHIRE (in the 1790s)



	County Boundary
	Presbytery Boundary
	Parish Boundary

Chapter Two

Introductions

2(i) The Study

The present study is to examine the history of educational provision in the Presbytery of Jedburgh in the eighteenth century. When the work was being planned, there were already completed substantial studies of education in various rural parts of Scotland, Angus (Jessop, 1931), Aberdeenshire (Simpson, 1947), Fife (Beale, 1953), Ayrshire (Boyd, 1961) and Stirlingshire (Bain, 1965). In addition, most valuable work had been completed for East Lothian (Withrington, 1963) and West Lothian (Bain, 1974), and Kirkcudbrightshire had also received attention (Russell, 1951 and 1971). The Border country had, however, been bypassed so that that omission allied to personal and practical reasons led the author to consider the county of Roxburghshire.

Church government being as important as it is to the history and development of Scottish education, the boundaries of presbyteries serve as a useful way to limit and define a geographical area for study, for example Withrington (1963). At the time of the Statistical Account, Roxburghshire had thirty one parishes, in five presbyteries, and the Presbytery of Jedburgh seemed the most appropriate for detailed study: it was contained entirely within the county of Roxburghshire; it included two of the three burghs in the county; and it had a good set of records for the relevant period.

In the 1790s there were fourteen parishes, but at the beginning of /

of the century there had been sixteen. Castleton was transferred to the new presbytery of Langholm in 1743 so that it was excluded from this study, but Abbotrule which was divided between Hobkirk and Southdean in 1777 is covered because the new arrangement was still within the Presbytery of Jedburgh. In succeeding pages, reference may be made to 'Roxburghshire schools' when making comparisons with other parts of the country, but it is hoped that readers will understand that this is for brevity and relates in fact only to schools within the presbytery of Jedburgh.

The formal title of this study refers to the eighteenth century, but the previous chapter shows that the starting date is 1696 and the closing date has been taken as 1803, the next important Act. For Hume Brown (1909) the eighteenth century in Scotland meant 1689 to 1789; in France it was 1715 to 1789. It can, therefore, be argued that for Scottish education the eighteenth century is 1696 to 1803. With regard to methodology, the present study will be essentially descriptive in that the evidence from the primary sources on educational provision will be revealed, but that evidence will be examined as to its internal coherence, its relationship with what we know of life and living around Jedburgh at that time, and its status in comparison with other studies in the field.

The primary sources consulted were principally church and parliamentary records, but heritors' and burgh council papers were often of great importance. There was one other source which proved invaluable, more as confirmation than revelation: the family/

family and estate papers of major landowners in the area. For example, a good estate manager would prepare an annual abstract of the accounts and collect together all the relevant receipts. A glance at the abstract under 'Public Burdens' could show whether the heritor contributed to any schoolmaster's salary and a search of the receipts could bring forth the name and signature of the school master. This was nonetheless, a very time-consuming task. Picking the most extreme example, the researcher consulted the Buccleuch papers and there are some one thousand one hundred and twenty one sections on the inventory. Most of these sections are represented by packets, each roughly the size of two average shoeboxes, possibly containing several hundred documents. Certainly the inventory narrowed the search to some seventy packets, but one has to bear in mind also that the schoolmaster's receipt would be on a piece of paper no more than six inches by one and a half inches, and folded at least once.

The author is aware that his selection of evidence is directed towards education provided in schools. Education does, of course, have a wider definition; in the eighteenth century the principal agencies of education in Scotland would be the family, the Church and the school. This study has, therefore, a narrow focus and indeed the reality at the end of the investigation is that the evidence perhaps gives more of schoolmasters than it does of schools or schooling.

What men thought and felt is just as important as what they did and said, but most often the former is arrived at by way of the latter. It may well be that older historians strove too hard to /

to form generalisations from collections of acts and facts and that "while it is important to bring meaning out of history ... it is equally important that we should resist the temptation of bringing too much order out of chaos" (O'Day, 1982, p.281). That charge can also be levelled at the 'new' historians. Beveridge (n.d.) gives an interesting analysis of the way childhood was perceived in eighteenth century Scotland and he acknowledges that he talks mainly of the land-owning and professional classes. In addition he points to a few examples from the "great majority of the population" which show a different attitude, and he admits that this area needs more detailed study. Beveridge does not attempt to make generalisations from these examples of the "child-vagabond population", but they are presented as evidence from the working class. It is rather like giving the views and experiences of modern teenagers who run away to London as the views and experiences of modern working class teenagers.

The problem lies with the representation of scale. The standard histories referred to by Humes and Paterson (1983) perhaps attempted to cover too much with the result that the mythology was never disturbed. Beveridge (n.d.) is not interested in the mythology, but also he does not evaluate his particular evidence in terms of the general. Is it typical, or atypical, regular or irregular, normal or abnormal? Obviously to answer that, one must have a view of the standard from which one makes one's judgements. Finding an exception does not in itself prove or disprove the rule.

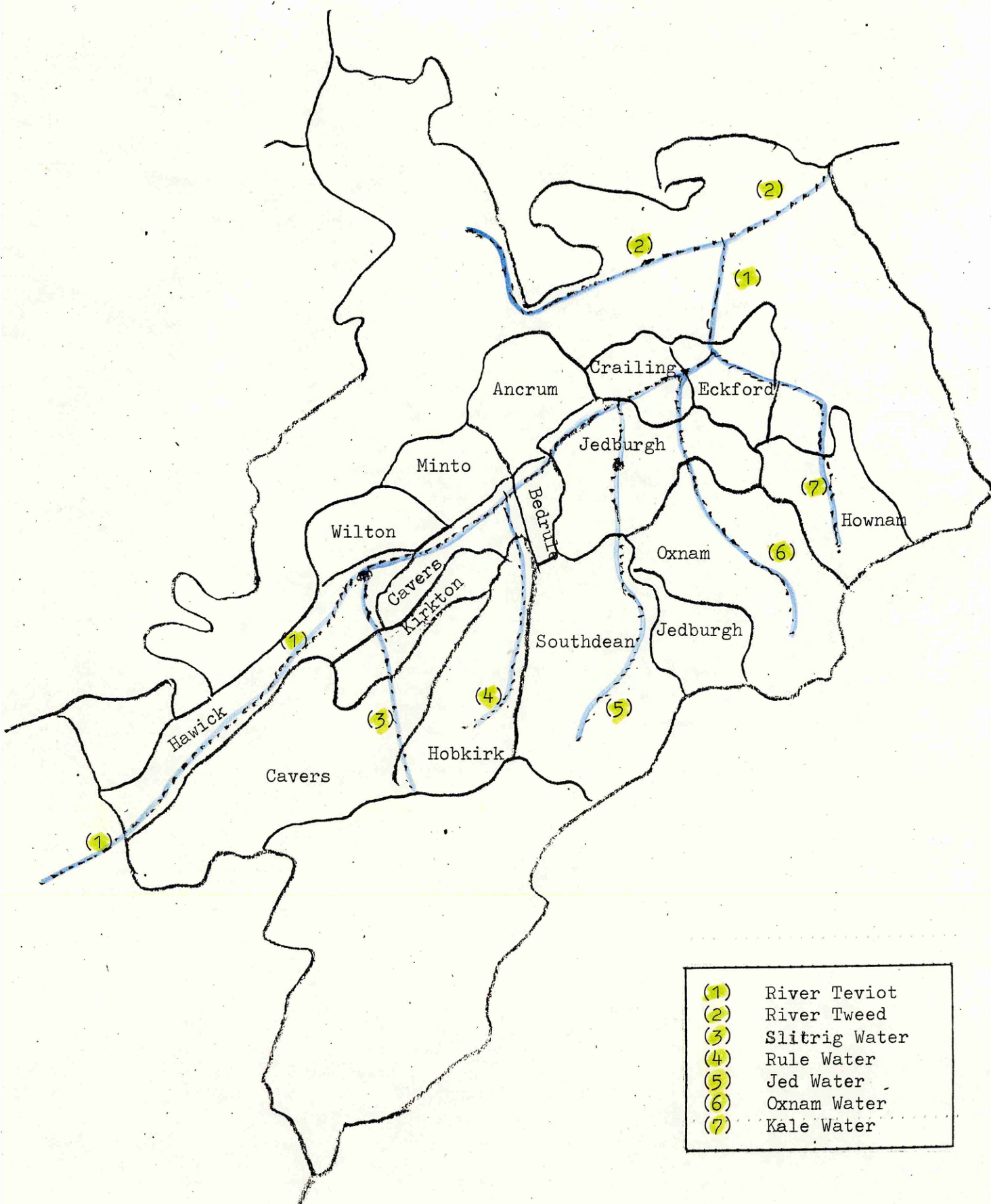
Similarly an unfortunate tension has arisen from another characteristic /

19

characteristic of the 'new' historian, the inter-disciplinary approach. Beveridge (n.d., p.265) talks of a "network of alliances" with other scholars from different academic backgrounds and Humes and Paterson (1983, p.5) say that "the study of the history of Scottish education must be conducted with reference to many other aspects of national culture". A useful book on the Poor Law by Cage (1981) received a lukewarm review in the Scottish Historical Review. The reviewer, Gladstone (1983), notes that the study "lacks a political dimension ...", and later queries one of Cage's conclusions by saying that it would need to be verified "by a much more detailed analysis of local administration ...". Cage was too narrow, Cage wasn't narrow enough.

Inter-disciplinary or single discipline, broad or narrow, general or local, all are complementary and all are necessary for a further understanding of history. The unearthing of new information has an influence upon the interpretation, and indeed the meaning, of old information, just as the putting together of previously independent sources, concepts or whatever can lead to new insights. What is perhaps clearer today is that the researcher has to make explicit the parameters of his study so that successors may place it accurately on their conceptual plan and not be misled into expecting more or less than the original researcher offered. The present author has, therefore, attempted in this introduction to outline briefly the parameters and hereafter to present the context of life and living in and around Jedburgh in which the examination of educational provision will take place.

FIGURE TWO

ROXBURGHSHIRE RIVERS

2(ii) The Countryside

Roxburghshire, now Roxburgh District in the Borders Region, was bounded by Berwickshire and Midlothian (or Edinburghshire) in the north, Selkirkshire on the west, Dumfriesshire in the south west, and on the east and southeast was the national border with England. At its longest from north to south it was just over forty miles, and from east to west thirty miles.

Groome (1885, p.283) describes it as "perhaps the most characteristic-ally Border county of all". Unfortunately he does not say what the characteristics of a Border county are, but certainly Roxburghshire was responsible on the Scottish side for the major part of the Border and in pre-Union days this meant that it suffered severely from the depredations of war. Cross-border activity did not cease with the end of hostilities because smuggling exercised the same kind of talents. Even legitimate commerce could cause problems.

"This parish (Southdean) long laboured under the greatest oppression; the numerous droves of black cattle and sheep passing into England, infested and overspread the best pasture ground. Every returning season opened a new scene of dispute, teasing, anxiety and distress to the tenant." (OSA, Southdean.)

On the eastern side, the Border follows approximately the line of the River Tweed and then the watershed of the Cheviot Hills. Rivers and mountains help define different parts of Roxburghshire itself. The parishes of the Presbytery of Jedburgh geographically form a fairly coherent group. As the Presbytery of Kelso loosely surrounds the Tweed so that of Jedburgh is linked to the River Teviot. The Teviot rises in a projection of the Cheviot Hills which runs east to west across the southern /

southern portion of Roxburghshire and which separates the parish of Castleton in Liddesdale from the rest of Roxburghshire. The Teviot then flows for nearly forty miles to join the Tweed at Kelso. The parishes either border the Teviot or appear to be directed down from the Cheviots towards it, following one of its tributaries: Cavers has the Slitrig Water, Hobkirk the Rule, Southdean the Jed, Oxnam the Oxnam, and Hownam the Kale. Roxburghshire used to be called Teviotdale, but in fact that title more appropriately describes the parishes of Jedburgh Presbytery.

In general, Teviotdale does not rise to more than one thousand feet except at its extremities on the Cheviots, but even there the ground was quite suitable for stock-rearing, particularly, of course, sheep. "It may be called a hilly or mountainous district; but the hills are green and rarely incumbered with rocks or covered with heath" (OSA, Hownam). The minister of Oxnam makes the following observation: "The soil is various, admitting both the amusements of pasturage and the labours of agriculture." The map in Douglas (1798) indicates that "labours" occur around the river and moving downstream from Hawick can extend up to about six miles from the river. Beyond that, the "amusements" take place until one comes to the Cheviots.

One of the features of the landscape seems to have been the lack of trees. An English traveller (RLW, 1897) writes of the "nakedness of the land" as the expected "Scottish appearance". Blaeu's map of 1654 shows the only significant afforestation to be along the banks of the Slitrig and the Jed. Younger (1881) observes that about 1760 there was hardly a tree between Ancrum and Kelso and the writers of the Statistical /

Statistical Account make frequent reference to the fact. "There are vestiges of some wood; but, at present, not a tree, and scarcely a bush is to be seen in the parish" (OSA, Kirkton). Lack of trees meant a lack of fuel. "The common people make use of turf, broom and furze; but these two last have become scarce, through cultivation of the land that formerly produced them" (OSA, Eckford). Even peat was in short supply because marl was increasingly extracted for agricultural purposes from the old peat beds. Ure (1794) claimed that the poor had a fire only for cooking.

This shortage explains the concern about coal which was expressed in nearly every account. There was a supply of coal, but its source, Northumberland, was a long way off, the cost of carriage was high, and the coal was, therefore, expensive. There were reports of attempts to find coal locally, but without success. Similar difficulties arose with lime for the fields; available, but at a distance. Both were seen to be essential not just for the maintenance of existing standards, but also for the development of better agriculture and of manufacturing industry. The problem was transport and there was much support for the 1792 proposal to build a canal from Berwick following the Tweed and the Teviot to Ancrum. That initiative came to nought. In addition there were proposals in the early nineteenth century to build waggon ways from Berwick to Roxburghshire with Thomas Telford and John Rennie as engineers, but they too came to nought (Robertson, 1983, p.12).

Much encouragement by the ministers in the Statistical Account was given to, and gained from, the improvement in roads. Roxburghshire benefitted from the major turnpikes between Scotland and England that passed through its bounds. In 1764 the Edinburgh-Carlisle road (now the /

the A7) was completed, passing through Hawick; in 1766 the crossing at Wooler; in 1768 the Carter Bar crossing from Jedburgh (A68), and also the Kelso-Hawick link. Other 'internal' branches were developed: the Hawick to Carter Bar road (A6088) and the road from Jedburgh to Spittal where it joined the Kelso-Hawick turnpike.

Obviously the linking of towns was important, but the parishes through which the major roads passed also felt the improvement. "These roads are found to be of essential service for promoting speedy communication in an inland country" (OSA, Eckford).

The development of roads necessitated the building of bridges and there was much activity in that field in the second half of the eighteenth century. Some of it had begun before the turnpike boom and was regarded with some caution in the more rural parts. For example, Bedrule session, as requested by the General Assembly, collected money in 1756 for the bridge at Kelso, but they decided to hold it until "there should be a fair probability that the design would not fail and that the work would certainly be complete in due time" (OPR782/3). Six months later the Synod asked for a collection to be made on behalf of the widows and children of men killed by an arch of the Kelso Bridge falling. The session again decided to hold up the money as they heard that the people "are pretty liberally supplied at the present and that the collection would probably be a more seasonable relief afterward".

In 1756 the Church contributed to the subscriptions for the Kelso bridge, but the principal developments took place in a less ad hoc way under those/

those bodies with statutory obligations and it is to such bodies
that we turn next.

2(iii) Government locally

Whetstone (1981, p.61) observes that Commissioners of Supply were established in 1667 to collect the land tax and in the eighteenth century responsibility for the maintenance of roads was given to them. "A few odd functions, mostly supervisory, such as seeing that parishes erected schools or making sure that the military quotas were met, also fell to the Commissioners", and in a further note she says: "the records indicate little interest on the part of the Commissioners in the supervisory duties. Thus although they are associated with the provision of schools, most commissioners show little concern for the subject unless forced to by local interests".

In the first chapter we noted that Commissioners of Supply were authorised by the 1696 Act to be arbiters in cases where the heritors failed to do their duty and, as alternatives to the Sheriff or "other Judge competent", to adjudicate in appeals about assessment. Their function was, therefore, supervisory and Whetstone is a little unfair when she says that the Commissioners show little concern because, by law, they could only respond, not initiate. The latter responsibility lay with the church authorities and with the heritors.

In the Presbytery of Jedburgh, the Commissioners' principal participation was in the setting of the standard according to the law. The 1696 Act was most thoroughly considered after 1715 when the Synod requested a written account on the state of schools in each presbytery. The Rebellion delayed things a bit, but by 1718 the presbyteries resolved /

resolved to go to the Commissioners of Supply to settle those cases where the heritors had refused to take the necessary action. The Commissioners' decision came in 1720. It was a blanket decision that all parishes without a legal salary should have a salary of one hundred merks fixed and the stent taken. In addition one hundred merks was to be raised for a schoolhouse when that was lacking.

That seemed to settle the matter of salaries as far as the Commissioners were concerned. There were disputes about salaries, but none came back to them, although in one case a heritor complained that the matter should have been referred back. That case at Crailing will be discussed later, but the Commissioners did play an indirect part; they confirmed that someone was a heritor and, therefore, held a vote at heritors' meetings. The 1720 decision was referred to at different times and seems to have been sufficient to ensure progress.

Only two other references to the Commissioners appear in the records. (The records of the Commissioners' business are unavailable.) Both are to do with schoolhouses and occur when the Presbytery deemed that it itself was not the proper judge. The Eckford decision is not known, but in Jedburgh the Commissioners resolved a dispute between council and heritors about who should pay for a new school.

The Commissioners were, therefore, not much troubled by the parishes in Jedburgh Presbytery and indeed they seem to do all that is asked of them. Just to indicate that it did not need to have been as easy as that, the neighbouring Commissioners in Berwickshire refused to /

to take action in 1721 against recalcitrant heritors and the Synod had to approach the Church Procurator.

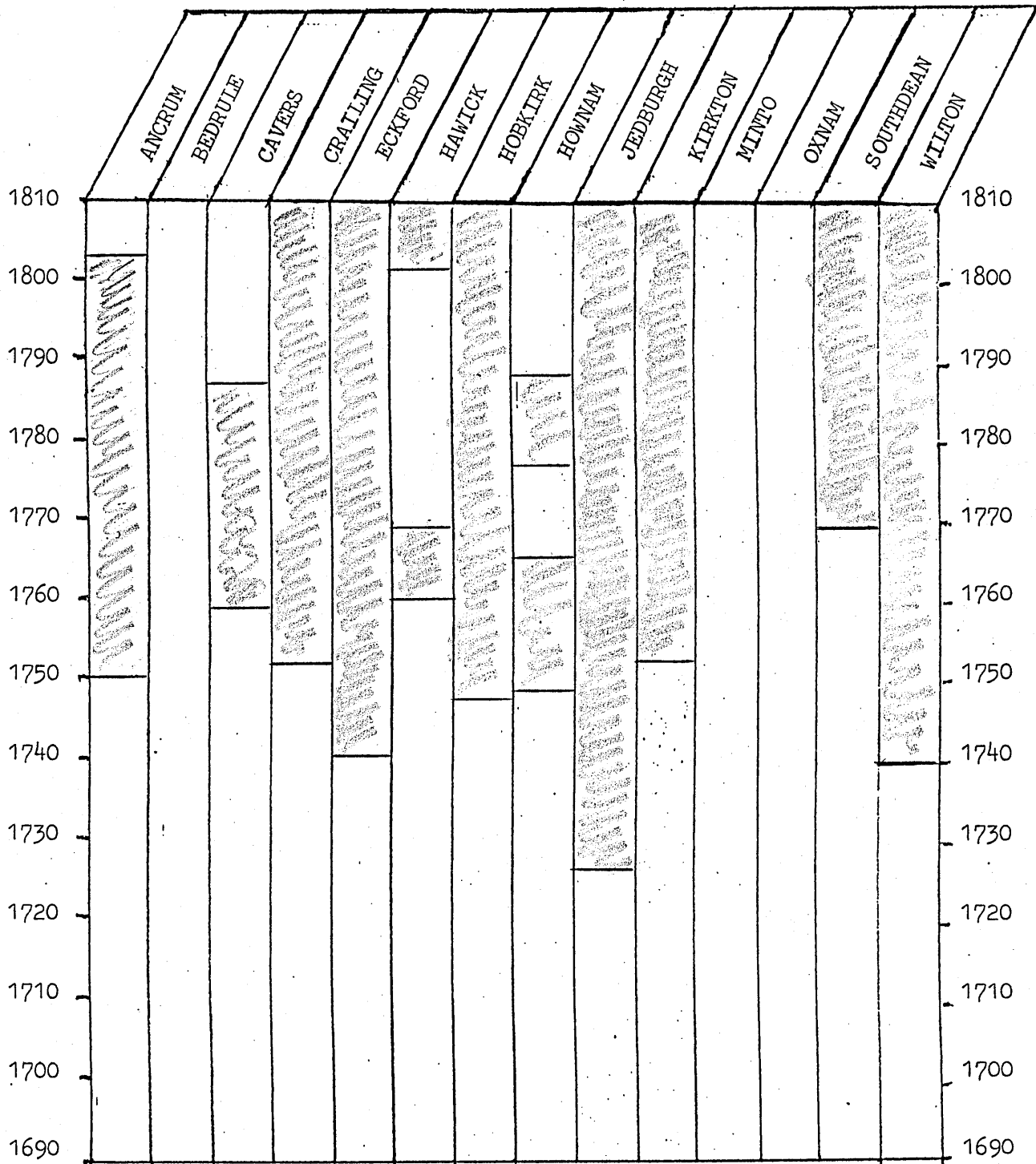
The Sheriff was also only approached on two occasions both cases concerning money, but not salary. Thus the civil courts played little part in the educational provision, but that is not to say that there were few disputes. The disputes generally took place within the church courts and the role of the presbytery in particular will receive detailed attention in Chapter 9.

The Civil Courts and the civil administration in general operated smoothly, but then it is not surprising when one sees that it was not only the schoolmaster who dabbled in pluralism. The sederunt book of the Justices (JP 14/2/6) shows a meeting of the heritors of the county, followed on the same day by a meeting of the Justices of the Peace and the Commissioners of Supply (those present are the heritors plus one), followed again by a meeting of the justices.

If litigation was light, it suggests that the heritors, traditionally the villains of the piece, have been fair in fulfilling their obligations. Bain (1965, p.16) makes a plea "for a sympathetic re-consideration of the part played by heritors" and it may be that the Roxburghshire landowners too deserve a kinder presentation. Figure 3 shows the dates of their existing records. Some of these are only the financial accounts, and sometimes there is a mixture of heritors and parish business. For example, the Cavers records in the eighteenth century are formally called parish minutes (Roxburgh 6/4/1) while there are nineteenth century Cavers heritors' minutes (HR 271) held /

FIGURE THREE

HERITORS' RECORDS



held with all the other heritors' records. At Crailing the parish meeting, which principally was concerned with poor relief, took place with heritors, tenants, collector and minister present, and was then followed by the heritors' meeting with only heritors present. The minutes were recorded separately, but kept in the same book. The division of heritors meetings from those concerned with the poor was common. The latter was called the meeting of heritors and elders, or heritors and session, or heritors and householders, or the parish meeting. It dealt with poor relief and generally the matters to do with the school and schoolhouse, sometimes even salary. The heritors only meetings were appointed to look into matters to do with the church and manse although Eckford was prepared to let repairs of the manse barn be handled by the parish meeting.

The number of heritors in each parish as given in the Statistical Account is shown in Figure 4.

<u>Figure 4</u>	<u>Number of Heritors by parish</u>	
	<u>No. in total</u>	<u>No. in residence</u>
Ancrum	8 + some minor heritors	-
Bedrule	8	2
Cavers	11	all principals except 1
Crailling	3	1 in summer
Eckford	8	1
Hawick	-	-
Hobkirk	11	3
Hownam	8	2
Jedburgh	16 + c.100 minor	8 major
Kirkton	/	

	<u>No. in total</u>	<u>No. in residence</u>
Kirkton	4	0
Minto	3	3
Oxnam	7	2
Southdean	4	2
Wilton	-	-

In the account for Wilton, the anonymous writer comments upon the assessment for the poor and meetings concerning it that "the business is transacted without expense, excepting the fees of the clerk and of the collector". It was notable when reading the heritors' minutes that expenses were a not inconsiderable sum and often a source of dispute. At Eckford it was resolved that "no more than ten shillings sterling is to be allowed at any ordinary meeting of Heritors for dinner and drink " (HR 530/1, 1771). At this time the collector received £1.10.0 per annum for his troubles. In the late 1770s and 1780s, the Hownam accounts show virtually the same sum being paid to the collector and being expended on the "tavern bill" (HR 199/2). Interestingly there is one meeting in 1783 without any such entry, but then it was the first time that the minister had chaired the meeting.

The factor for the Duke of Roxburghe refuses to pay some expenses in 1769 at Jedburgh. It is surprising that more heritors don't complain and the explanation must lie in Figure 4 which shows that in most parishes the majority of the heritors are non-resident. The Jedburgh circumstances are peculiar, as we shall see later, but in the rural parishes a good dinner may have been /

been seen to be due reward for turning up and attending to the business.

Salving the consciences of the absentees is one explanation, but a closer examination of the landownership makes it more complex. As Douglas (1798) observes and the distribution as in Timperley (1976) confirms, seven families of long standing owned two thirds of Roxburghshire. Of the parishes in Jedburgh Presbytery, only four did not have one or more of the Dukes of Roxburghe and of Buccleuch and the Marquis of Lothian as major heritors. These absentees were, therefore, unaware of local details. Although their agents were conscientious, and it was one who made the complaint at Jedburgh, they functioned as intermediaries, acted according to instructions, even though they wielded enormous influence. The expense-account dinners might even be regarded as examples of the beneficence of the patron.

The heritors, therefore, as a body, appear to have met their obligations under the 1696 Act and they look after themselves. How well they looked after the school and schoolmaster will be the subject of examination later as will be their concern for the community in general.

The other body at parish level responsible for educational provision was the kirk session and their remaining records are given in Figure 5. Again there is a mixture of minutes and accounts and often the record is principally the parish register with only a scattering of anything else. Records that are solely /

solely registers have not been included, but on the other hand the table can give an overfavourable impression: Wilton has minutes for just forty years and only rather insubstantial accounts for the whole century.

Incomplete records make it difficult for modern researchers to discover exactly what eighteenth century circumstances were, but that these circumstances were themselves difficult is easy to see. It may be that the heritors were not hostile, but the geography made the provision of education a problem. The extent of the parishes we have noted and how that enforced/ encouraged provision beyond the parish school will be explored later, but there were also other factors complicating the management.

In the 1770s and 1780s there are several examples of the Kirk Session being unable to function properly because of lack of elders. In an extensive parish, distances might put off some prospective elders, and no doubt by the 1770s the Secessions would have diminished the pool of candidates, but lack of elders was certainly a handicap.

For most of the parishes in the study the relevant institutions were the session and the heritors, and their respective 'superiors', the presbytery and the Commissioners of Supply. Hawick and Jedburgh were, however, different, both being burghs with landward parishes. In some ways, they could be included with their neighbours. For example, the council could be regarded as a heritor with share of the parish valuation: on the other hand the council with a responsibility for part of the parish /

parish brings a dimension which is quite absent from the other parishes and it is for that reason that Hawick and Jedburgh have been treated separately.

Black (1893, p.3) states that the seventeenth century Acts "had reference in the main to landward parishes but a school in a burgh had likewise the character of a parochial school conferred upon it, because it was maintained by the exercise on the part of the local Presbytery of a right to jurisdiction". Grant (1876) agrees that the presbytery has jurisdiction over burgh and parish schools, but he distinguishes between the two types by reference to patronage, the right to present. Patronage for Grant, however, does not include a financial element and he quotes an example, (p.101, note 2), of a parochial school to which the council contributes.

Bain (1974, p.90) in discussing the development of the burgh school of Linlithgow in the seventeenth century also separates presbyterial jurisdiction from other factors, but he appears to take patronage and management together: a "tradition of burgh control and inspection of the school", "burgh payment" and "burgh appointment and dismissal". Grant (1876) describes Jedburgh as a burgh and parochial school so that it fell between both categories. The later examination of education in Jedburgh and Hawick reveals that such a dual position, or compromise, is most appropriate, and indeed that it is the features that are important rather than the legalistic definitions or categories.

While this study takes Jedburgh and Hawick together, they have quite /

quite different histories and modes of government. Hawick was created a burgh of barony in 1524 and of regality in 1669; Jedburgh was a Royal Burgh from the twelfth century (Pryde, 1965). Both towns were, therefore, trading centres, but Jedburgh originally had the interest in foreign trade. Jedburgh also had the right of sending a delegate to the election of a member of parliament. Its council was composed of twenty five members: provost, four bailies, dean of guild, treasurer, four deacons of trade and fourteen common councillors. Politics and electioneering seem to have played a dominant role in Jedburgh life, corroborating Somerville's remark in the Statistical Account about "the destructive influence of borough politics". The political uncertainties cannot have helped economic security and it is no surprise to learn that the council was in financial trouble in the 1720s and again in 1754. Each time they borrowed their way out of immediate trouble. In 1777 there was much concern again about lack of trade and the convention of Royal Burghs was asked to repeat its allowance of £30 to Jedburgh because of its financial straits.

In the 1730s there was a fracas over the election of the delegate to go to the meeting to elect the Member. Then the deacons and magistrates were in conflict. Finally in 1737 the election of the new council was disputed. There was a "total obstruction of justice and an entire want of government" (B38/7/2). The council were divided about when to hold the election and the two opposing groups held different elections. Both groups also went to the Court of Session to have the other election annulled. The matter went to the House of Lords who, declaring both elections void, directed that a "pole election" be held. The pre-1734 team /

team was returned with the Marquis of Lothian as provost.

Between 1768 and 1774 the council was "reduced" and a set of managers was installed to look after the town's affairs. It is not clear from the records what happened this time, but Jeffrey (1857-64, vol.II) suggests that there was bribery again concerning the election of the Member.

Earlier we made note of the "creation" of a heritor for the purposes of local politics. Burgh politics were obviously equally flexible and Somerville (1861, pp.177-8) indicates that the same thing happened at county level. Prior to the 1780 election it was clear that it would be close between Lord Minto, supported by the Duke of Buccleuch, and Lord Robert Ker, brother of the Duke of Roxburghe. Minto's father, the venerable Sir Gilbert Elliot, offered Somerville a superiority, to make a "fictitious vote", but he declined because he did not think he could honestly take the necessary trust oath that the estate was truly his own. Somerville to some extent, therefore, justified Burns's description: "Mr Somerville the clergyman of the place, a man and a gentleman, but sadly addicted to punning" (Brown, 1972, p.18).

Jedburgh was also rocked by the Boston Secession in 1757. The council and most of the heads of families sought Boston of Oxnam to fill the vacancy in the parish church, but the Marquis of Lothian procured the presentation for someone else. Somerville (1861, pp.168-70) states that the Marquis had been earlier offended personally by Boston and also was being attacked by members /

members of the council so that his position was based not at all upon any doctrinal or religious issues. Indeed his first candidate dropped out and the second name brought forward owed its appearance as a reward for services rendered in the cause against Prince Charlie in 1745 (Mabon, 1936). The influence of the Marquis prevailed with the result that the great majority of the population joined Boston in a congregation outside the national church, but which differed only in its opposition to patronage. Boston joined Gillespie in the Relief Church which later amalgamated with parts of the earlier Secession to form the United Presbyterian Church. The implications for Jedburgh were, however, far-reaching. As we shall see, the schoolmasters were involved and the religious divide also entered local politics, no doubt a factor in the 'reduction' of 1768, and contributed further to Jedburgh's instability.

Hawick's minister in the Statistical Account can proudly write: "Hawick possesses all the privileges of a royal burgh, except that of sending a representative to Parliament, for which it need not repine, as it is thereby freed from many temptations to idleness and dissipation, to which the inhabitants of royal burghs, by their politics, are often subjected". As a burgh of barony and regality, Hawick was subject to a superior, the Duke of Buccleuch, who received the local customs taxes, but who had also given Hawick an element of independence. The magistrates were elected by the burgesses and also Hawick was allowed incorporations which, according to Mackenzie (1949, p.80), was unusual. The council was composed of the two elected bailies, fifteen councillors elected by the sitting members of the council, and two /

two quarter masters from each incorporation.

This administration was not however without its faults.

"The election of new members was rare and the Council was locally dubbed the 'Eternal Council'" (Wilson, 1954, p.21).

The fifteen councillors tended to be there for life and the two bailies were indeed elected by the burgesses, but from a leet of six drawn up by the council. The town, therefore, had some freedom of action, but the Duke of Buccleuch was by far the largest heritor of the parish, holding some sixty six per cent in 1700 rising to ninety per cent by the 1830s, so that his influence would be important.

It is interesting that an early historian of Hawick, Wilson (1841, pp.104-7), who was not unwilling to take a radical swipe at those in power, deplores the state of education in Hawick, but directs no blame towards the council. "When the authorities in whom are vested the guardianship of learning neglect their duty, in place of affording the aid within their power in furtherance of the important avocations of the schoolmaster, general dissatisfaction is the result, and the community is apt to think lightly of authorities such as these." The presbytery and the heritors were his target, but perhaps he was a councillor.

If Jedburgh was beset by uncertainty and instability, Hawick would appear to have been beset by the opposite. The form of government did not lend itself to the role of initiator or change agent, and certainly in education the burgh did not play a big part. /

part. In trade and industrial development, however, Hawick's council was more successful.

In comparison with other parts of Scotland the parishes of the presbytery of Jedburgh are rural and the two burghs are small, but, within the context of these parishes, the two "burgh parishes" operate under different conditions and require particular consideration. How different has been illustrated above and is summed by Prime Minister Pitt in 1787, quoted by Mackenzie (1949, p.179): "as the law of Scotland is now understood there does not exist a power to control the administration of burghs".

2(iv) Population Statistics

When considering educational provision, one relevant consideration is the number of children to be taught. In the nineteenth century the national censuses give detailed and accurate figures, but for the eighteenth century the evidence and conclusions are much less reliable. "The causes of population increase in eighteenth century Britain have produced much debate among historians in recent decades, but we are as far from an agreed verdict as ever" (Smout, 1972, p.242). Why there was an increase is uncertain, how much was the increase is uncertain, and an estimate of school-age children has to be smothered with conditions and assumptions.

What has previously been accepted was that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of Scotland was about a million. "We must make do with a figure ... that the population was just over one million souls" (Smout, 1972, p.240) and "a figure of a million seems reasonable for the total population of Scotland in 1707" (Lythe and Butt, 1975, p.87). However the most recent and detailed study pours cold water on such generalisations: "Simply, we do not know what the population was in 1700, and no figures advanced by historians should be taken as correct to within twenty per cent" (Flinn, 1977, p.242).

The first reliable estimate of the population is taken to be that of Alexander Webster in 1755, first examined by Kyd (1952). There has been some discussion since that Webster's figures were collected prior to 1755, but that is now discounted. What Flinn (1977) reveals is that the document used by Kyd probably dates /

dates from 1789 and contains amendments to earlier manuscripts so that, although the figures principally relate to 1755, some have been altered to take account of parish boundary changes etc.

The next national figure derives from the Statistical Account in the 1790s, but it is little used by general historians because it is superceded by the first census proper in 1801 and because its data is uneven. It is, however, invaluable in a local study.

Figure 6 gives the relevant populations of the parishes in the Presbytery of Jedburgh. The Webster figures are those used by Kyd (1952) and the assumption is that they were not revised in 1777 when Abbotrule was divided between Hobkirk and Southdean. The figures in inverted commas under O.S.A. are the estimates given in the Account. Graham's figures are derived from estimates of examinable persons contained in a notebook of Nicol Graham (Laing Manuscripts) from the 1720s. The difficulty is to know how to convert the total of examinables into a total population. Rae (1979) adds one quarter to totals of examinables to give better estimates of parish populations in his introduction to the Statistical Account. Following that example, the first column gives the Graham figures plus twenty five per cent. Another approach is to use the formula said by Withrington (1962) to have been used by Webster: multiply the number of examinables by $\frac{30 + n}{31}$ where 'n' is the examinable age. Rae's approach would be approximately equivalent to taking the examinable age as nine. Flinn (1977, p.244) compares Graham's figures with Webster's for certain presbyteries using the formula approach, but he does not specify the examinable age used although /

although elsewhere (p.65) he suggests that it should be between seven and eight. The percentage approach is, therefore, not too far out of line with that. Graham had no entry for Hobkirk so that the Hobkirk figure has been estimated by using the average change from Graham to Webster in the neighbouring parishes of Cavers and Southdean.

Figure 6

Population figures by parish

	Graham	Webster	O.S.A.	1801 census
Abbotrule	250	189		
Ancrum	1062	1066	1146	1222
Bedrule	300	297	259	260
Cavers	1187	993	"1300"	1382
Crailing	750	387	672	669
Eckford	1125	1083	952	973
Hawick	1625	2713	2928	2798
Hobkirk	"629"	530	"700"	760
Hownam	812	632	365	372
Jedburgh	3750	5816	3288	3834
Kirkton	437	330	342	320
Minto	562	396	513	477
Oxnam	1125	760	690	688
Southdean	562	480	714	697
Wilton	562	936	1215	1307
Total	14738	16608	15084	15759

It is very dangerous to come to any firm conclusions from the eighteenth century statistics, and particularly Graham's which are obviously round figures (three of the parishes have the same number), but there are some interesting points. There is an overall increase of 12.7% from the 1720s to Webster's census of the 1750s. Thereafter there is a drop of 9.1% between Webster and the 1790s or just 5.1% between Webster and the 1801 census with an increase between the 1790s and 1801 of some 4.5%. The county population as a whole increased from 1755 by 3% in the 1790s and by 7% in 1801. Thus the county appears to have had a steady growth from 1755 while the presbytery has a severe drop between 1755 and the 1790s and only thereafter picks up at the same rate as the rest of the county. In addition Flinn (1977, p.244), in his comparison of Graham's figures and Webster's for the presbyteries of Jedburgh, Kelso, Duns and Lauder, shows that Jedburgh was the only one to have an increase in population at that time.

It may look, therefore, as if the presbytery of Jedburgh had an increase in population between 1720 and 1755 while its easterly and north easterly neighbours were static or on the decline, and that its population slumped between 1755 and the 1790s while the other parts were increasing. Flinn talks of the difference between the east and the west of Scotland, and the Eastern and Western Borders. It may be that Jedburgh, at the west end of the Eastern Borders, was less or more slowly affected by those forces which influenced events to the east: Flinn (p.243) suggests that the depopulation of the Eastern Borders up to 1755 may result from the trend to sheep farming and it may be that this did not hit the hinterland until later.

Even /

666

Even such tentative conclusions about the parishes around Jedburgh for the first half of the century are confounded, however, when one looks at the figures in more detail. Webster's total is greater than Graham's, but that increase is supplied by only three parishes: Hawick, Jedburgh and Wilton; the parishes with the burghs and Wilton which has always been closely allied with developments at Hawick. The rural parishes all lost population between the 1720s and 1755. (Ancrum is so close under Graham as not to affect that statement.)

Figure 7

Population figures, urban v. rural

	Graham	Webster	O.S.A.	1801 census
"Urban" parishes	5937	9465	7431	7939
"Rural" "	8801	7143	7653	7820

The total population has not gained much in the century, but the distribution of the population appears to have altered. In the 1720s, more people were in the rural parishes. At 1755 this situation was reversed and at the end of the century there was a balance between the two groupings. What does not appear is any definite drift from the country to the towns, and yet Rae (1979) notes that ministers in the Statistical Account complained about depopulation. One explanation put forward by Rae is that there had been an increase in population in what he terms the 'hill parishes' in the third quarter of the century so that there may often have been a decline by the 1790s not from 1755, but from a peak in the 1770s. One Bedrule schoolmaster in 1789 complained that his fee income had come down because of depopulation, a complaint not really justified by the 1750s to 1790s figures, but possible if there was a higher 1770s figure.

The /

47

The minister of Southdean also gives support when he notes that although the Southdean total was four hundred and eighty in 1755 and seven hundred and fourteen in 1792 it was approximately eight hundred and fifty in 1776. That same account mentions, though without any reference to the population figures, that 1782 and 1783 had been years of scarcity. Flinn (1977, p.236) notes that 1782-3 "was at least, in some areas, nearer to an old-fashioned demographic crisis ... " so that it is possible that the rural areas had suffered a loss of population after the 1770s. Certainly there is evidence from the parish records of concern about the dearth at this time in Cavers, Crailing, Eckford, Hobkirk and Hownam, and Somerville (1861, p.383) quotes 1783 as a year when the poor were "reduced to extreme distress by the scarcity of provisions", describing elsewhere (p.202) the poor weather of 1782 that caused the dearth.

The Southdean minister also reports that smallpox used to be serious in Teviotdale, but since about 1782 inoculation had been practised. Smout (1972, pp.253-5) notes that inoculation became common about 1765, but any effect on population after that could be limited to the Highlands and the Solway hinterland. If, however, smallpox had affected the growth of population in Teviotdale, then one would have expected an increase in population after the introduction of inoculation. Yet the previous argument was that the growth of population took place up to about the time when inoculation was begun and thereafter there was a decline.

This inconsistency derives from an expansion of an explanation by Rae (1979) of the actual increase in population allied to complaints /

complaints about depopulation. Ministers in Jedburgh Presbytery commented upon depopulation, but they all belonged to parishes where the 1790s figure was below that of Webster: Eckford, Hownam, Jedburgh, and Oxnam. Here again there is inconsistency. One of the explanations for the depopulation is the increase of farm size, the "monopoly of farms", and the Oxnam minister states that there were twenty two tenants in the village of Oxnam in 1730 and in 1794 there are only three. The Eckford minister, on the other hand, admits that there are fewer tenants and larger farms, but says that there is little resulting depopulation because the large farms need more workers.

Also given by the minister of Hownam as reasons for the depopulation are emigration and the laying down of grass for sheep. The latter was given by Flinn (1977) as the reason for depopulation in the Eastern Borders in the first half of the century and might be evidence of the time lag between initiatives near the mouth of the Tweed being implemented in the upper reaches of the Teviot.

Emigration is given by Somerville in his return to Sir John Sinclair as a major reason for depopulation. "The Union has been the cause of the depopulation of the Border country, by enlarging the sphere, and facilitating the means of emigration." When the countries had been in a hostile state, there were excursions and incursions, but no permanent moves. "Misconduct and infamy at home were the only motives to emigration." After the Union, "to pass from the Borders of Scotland into Northumberland was rather like going into another parish than into another Kingdom" and as England was the wealthier country the /

the movement was likely to be more southward than northward.

Smout (1972, p.246) notes that "before 1780 there were clearly more emigrants than immigrants" but he doubts if this has had more than a marginal effect on population. It has also been suggested by Gulvin (1973, p.36) that in the woollen industry, after the Union, there is evidence of cloth producers from the north of England recruiting labour in the Borders as outworkers, which would turn Border faces southwards, but without encouraging emigration.

There is no doubt that the population of Jedburgh fell heavily from 1755. It has been claimed by Mackenzie (1949, p.138) that the population of the burgh of Jedburgh before 1707 was between six thousand and eight thousand, but the source is uncertain and it is difficult to accommodate with the Graham figure for the 1720s. Somerville, however, gives some fairly convincing information to suggest the population of Jedburgh was severely diminished since the beginning of the century. The union of farms depopulated the landward part and the Union of the Parliaments depopulated the town. We have noted his comments on emigration which resulted from the Union, but also the Union, he claims, brought about a great reduction in trade for Jedburgh which in turn affected the population. The trade was a "very advantageous contraband trade": "into England they imported salt, skins and malt, which, till the Union, paid no duties in Scotland; and from England they carried back wool which was exported from the Firth of Forth to France with great profit".

Somerville's /

Somerville's view of the importance of the wool trade is upheld today. Smout (1963, pp.216-7) states that "wool was undoubtedly among the main exports of Scotland in the decade before the Union" and of the total going to France, the main market, half had come from England. "If the English ever learnt to patrol the Border with really efficient customs men, they could then strangle the Scots of the essential supply for the Continent."

There is, therefore, good reason to believe that trade in Jedburgh was damaged and that this would affect population, but one can't tell to what extent. It could be that as a town dependent upon trade its population would be more susceptible to changing circumstances and therefore more irregular. Certainly its population figures, as we have them, show very great changes.

In such a complex and specialised topic, it would be unwise to come to any firm conclusions in this brief introduction. Even if one overlooks the unreliability of the figures, one has difficulty in providing convincing explanations. One can see, however, that the population growth of the presbytery of Jedburgh differed to some extent from the remainder of Roxburghshire, and from the other parts of the Eastern Borders. Within the presbytery, there are differences which can be categorised as "rural" against "urban", but which really indicate that every parish has factors peculiar to it which militate against the easy identification of trends. With regard to the provision of education this means that circumstances can vary very greatly within one parish within the career of a schoolmaster so that one has to be cautious about judging the adequacy of the provision.

2(v) Trade, Industry and Agriculture

The parishes around Jedburgh mirrored many of the developments that took place nationally in Scotland in the eighteenth century. As an agricultural community, the improving movement played a great part and yet Hawick and, to a lesser extent, Jedburgh were attached to the industrial revolution, with the rise of woollen manufacturing. Finally the area, Jedburgh especially, suffered with respect to trade after the Union of 1707 and took some time to readjust.

The Union has now been reappraised with regard to its effects on Scotland's economic development. The Union "should be considered merely as a preparation for events which began only a generation or more later" (Campbell, 1974, p.58). On the other hand, as the same author (Campbell, 1965, p.xi) puts it: "The Union ... did not provide the first impetus towards the evolution of the modern Scottish economy because attempts to follow English ways were evident in the seventeenth century ..."

"Though some developments are adumbrated before the Union and were intensified after it, it is scarcely possible to speak in terms of 'the impact of the Union' on the agriculture of the period" (Fenton, 1974, p.75).

This does not mean, however, that Somerville's description of Jedburgh's decline as a result of the Union is in error, but rather that general statements of national perspective may have different implications when viewed at the local level. "In 1704 the Scottish economy reached rock bottom" (Mitchison, 1982, p.301). "The eighteenth century began in an atmosphere of gloom and /

and despondency, in a trade depression, the shadow of famine, and the crushing of the loss of the colony" (Smout, 1972, p.225).

No doubt Jedburgh had been afflicted by the general ills of the period. The privileged trading position of the Royal burghs was being eroded and yet foreign trade was increasingly directed towards England in the later seventeenth century. Haldane (1952) claims that traffic in cattle, linen and coal made up the bulk of Scotland's exports and three quarters of the total went to England. Smout (1963, p.238) reduces that slightly: "it would not be surprising if, by the end of the century, one half of the total export trade of Scotland was directed to England". Jedburgh on the border should have been booming with this emphasis on trade with England and after the Union, when various restrictions were no longer in force, the trade opportunities should have multiplied.

The official statistics show that Jedburgh was not a thriving trading centre before or after the Union. Smout (1963, p.285) reveals that in the period 1686-96 Jedburgh imported a little hops and some leather, but, as he observes, Jedburgh was not so well placed as other towns on the border to benefit from the English trade. A glance at the entry book of the Jedburgh customs for 1683-84 (E72/13/7) shows that in the November to April period, although the value of duty was roughly balanced between exports and imports, there were fifteen imports entries and eighty five exports; and, more significantly, the exports were mainly black cattle, spread over the six months while the imports took place in November and the Spring, but nothing from December /

December to mid-March. The overland trade was small in comparison with the sea trade, and within the overland routes Jedburgh was not among the most convenient.

In an official and national context, the Union, therefore, had little effect upon Jedburgh's trade. One general explanation with regard to the cattle trade put forward by Haldane (1952) is that the Borders were important not as breeding or market places, but as areas of passage for beasts in transit. Smout (1963, p.148) puts it more generally and more bluntly: "most of the royal burghs of the Border were only concerned in trade in the sense that transport cafés are concerned in the trade of the Great North Road".

Where the cafés became dens of commercial activity was in the unofficial trade, the smuggling, which was not represented in the official statistics. Somerville (O.S.A., Jedburgh) indicates the effect of the end of smuggling on the population figures and he gives evidence about the scale of the changes; the remains of forty maltbarns and kilns existed, but only three were in use in the 1790s and the corporation of skinners and glovers, formerly one of the wealthiest, was in decline. Somerville also wrote the account for Ancrum and in that he points to many malt-kilns out of use; "an evidence of the extent of the contraband trade carried on by the Scottish borderers previous to the union".

It is reasonable to understand that the smuggling trade was different from the legal commerce in its place in Jedburgh's economy in that, although the legal trade merely passed through, contraband /

contraband goods would be bought, sold, handled, exchanged, value-added in Jedburgh. Also those physical conditions which made Jedburgh less suitable for legal trade made it more attractive for the other.

As a trading centre Jedburgh suffered in the eighteenth century and we have already noted the financial and political instability. It remained however the local market place and the rewards cannot have been insignificant, at least in comparison with those from education, because there are two examples of Jedburgh English schoolmasters, George Martine about 1715 and John Clerk in 1792, giving up the school to become merchants. It is of more than passing interest to note that both men were active in the burgh council, Martine became a bailie, and Clerk council treasurer.

Hawick, as a burgh of barony and regality, was only a market place for the locality although situated where it was there must have been traffic from the customs post at Castletown. The consumption of the town's population could not be supplied by the landward parish so that there was "constant importation from neighbouring parishes" (O.S.A., Hawick). It was not without ambition, however, because in 1785 the council was petitioned by the local Farming Club to permit a market for Highland cattle between the time of the October Tryst at Falkirk and the St. Luke's Fair at Newcastle. The proposal was that the cattle should have the use of the common for three days and the council agreed. Gillan (O.S.A., Hawick) writes in 1793 that it "promises to succeed". Pigot (1820, p.404) states that "a considerable number of black cattle are presented for sale", but Haldane (1952) suggests that it was unsuccessful because the principal drove roads /

roads through the Southern Uplands by-passed Hawick.

It was interesting that at a time now regarded as the beginning of the economic 'take-off' Hawick with a growing manufacturing base was still prepared to encourage a commercial development. However the manufacturing initiatives were the principal focus of Hawick's concern. Gillan (O.S.A., Hawick) claims that "manufactures are carried on here with considerable spirit and success" and certainly the nineteenth century proved him correct.

The woollen industry formed this manufacturing base. . . Gulvin (1971) describes the reactions of wool-growers to the Union of 1707 and the effectiveness of the provisions of the Act of the Union. Roxburghshire heritors were quick to ask for the Wool Fund, the £2,000 per annum for seven years as stipulated in the fifteenth article of the Act of the Union, to be used, but they had to wait until 1728 for the appearance of the "Particular Plan for Wool". The debate surrounded whether money should go to the wool-growers or to manufacturers. In fact it went to the former so that in 1759 the Roxburghshire woolmasters claimed that the county produced over twenty five per cent of Scotland's wool and ninety five per cent of it had to go to manufacturers in England.

"The development of the woollen manufacturing as a staple industry began in the eighteenth century when the chief product of the district was spun yarn, although prior to the 1740s any trade in this commodity was confined to the town and its neighbourhood" (Wilson, 1954, p.24). The first factory seems to have been that set up in 1752 to produce carpets and the carpet industry was followed /

followed by the manufacture of stockings, the first factory coming in 1771 with the employment of stocking-frame. Bremner (1869, pp.177-8) describes the expansion of the hosiery trade in Hawick and shows that Hawick retained the major share of Scotland's hosiery trade until at least the 1860s.

The eighteenth century developments, however, only flourished properly in the following century. The eighteenth century saw the introduction of machinery, the employment of many outworkers in the spinning, and the gradual change of attitude which has to accompany new methods. The council had long shown initiatives so that the climate was right for expansion. For example, in 1734 Hawick successfully petitioned the Board of Trustees for funds to set up a spinning school to employ idle people as spinners for English manufacturers. The proximity of Wilton also aided Hawick's development; in 1801 two fifths of the Wilton population were involved in trade rather than agriculture (HR 390/2). The Duke of Buccleuch, as superior, was, however, said to have been obstructive to industrial development, at least in the early stages (Lythe and Butt, 1975, p.133).

Gulvin (1973, p.53) refers to David Loch who found, in 1770s, the inhabitants of Hawick to be industrious, but upbraided Jedburgh for indulging in petty political squabbles that sapped the industrial vigour of the inhabitants. Jedburgh also was involved in the woollen industry and Bremner (1869, p.199) refers to a Jedburgh initiative of 1728 (which quickly failed), but the involvement never matured in the same way as at Hawick and, as we have seen, Loch could well have been right. Heron (1799, p.295) observed of Hawick: "notwithstanding many seeming disadvantages, manufactures /

manufactures flourish. A spirit of enterprise directed by the knowledge requisite, and seconded by persevering industry, produces, in every situation, wonderful effects".

Ure (1974) refers to a school for teaching young women the art of tambouring and hand-flowering muslin, established at Jedburgh about 1790 by a Glasgow manufacturer, but he thinks it will not succeed as trade has stagnated because of the war. Earlier the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures had set up a stamp office for linen at Jedburgh, but it had disappeared by 1820 (Durie, 1979, pp.33 and 111). Further examples of the weakness of Jedburgh's position.

The reason presented for the emergence of the Borders as the centre of Scottish wool - manufacturing lies in the relationship between the industry and the contemporary changes in agriculture; "the availability of improved wool encouraged investment in woollen manufacture and helped the industry to achieve an initial 'quality' breakthrough" (Gulvin, 1973, p.50). Whatever was happening in Hawick or Jedburgh, the base for recovery lay in agriculture and that was the main occupation of the majority of the people in our area.

Earlier we quoted Fenton (1974) who concluded that, as far as agriculture was concerned, to talk of the 'impact' of the Union' was almost irrelevant. Agriculture was "the backbone of the Scottish economy" (Hamilton, 1963) at 1700, but by 1800 agrarian change was in full flow. If Campbell (1965, p.18) is right when he observes, "the history of Scottish agriculture is largely concerned with attempts at mitigating the physical adversities", then /

then it is clear that Roxburgh was fortunate in its physical condition and, therefore, it is not surprising that agriculture was and remains the predominant industry. Handley (1953, p.10) quotes a 1785 writer who observed that Roxburghshire was only one of four counties in Scotland without large areas of heath, and we noted earlier the arable and pastoral areas and the fact that even the hills were suitable for sheep.

Roxburghshire was also fortunate that the organisation of agriculture was such that change could take place. Smout (1972, p.277) says that the improvers were not forced out of any economic necessity to make improvements; "their spurs were primarily those of fashion, patriotism and the admiration felt by Scots of all political persuasions for a farming system that made the English so much more affluent than themselves". The landowners of Roxburgh were such men and, as noted earlier in this chapter (section (iii)), two thirds of the county were owned by a handful of families so that change could be effected on a wide scale. Somerville (1861, pp.359-60) identified a different picture when he suggested that between 1750 and 1815 two thirds of the county had changed hands and that East India adventurers were to the fore as the new heritors. This apparent conflict might be resolved if the changes Somerville spoke of took place mainly in the 1790s and thereafter. Lythe and Butt (1975, p.109) refer to an active land market, but unfortunately don't specify exactly when it was most active so that we cannot put a date to this development. Certainly the ministers in the Statistical Account make mention of the enlargement of farms, but not of changes in ownership. Large holdings in a few hands followed /

followed by an influx of landowners from different backgrounds would be a good foundation for change.

After ownership, the next topic commonly held to be instrumental in bringing about change was the removal of runrig and the break-up of the infield-outfield system. Fenton (1974) argues that it is now less easy to make a clear distinction between the old and the new in agriculture and that many features of 'improved' agriculture were developments of the old system, "a purely indigenous form of evolution". Dodgshon has carried out two very interesting studies on Roxburghshire which support Fenton. His first paper (1972) identifies two types of runrig in Roxburghshire: the more common (in Scotland and Roxburgh) he called tenant runrig and was an intermixture of land belonging to different tenants; the other was proprietary runrig, an intermixture of land belonging to different heritors. The first was removed by cutting the number of tenants and the ministers in the Statistical Account gave evidence for that. The second was removed under the 1695 Act, "An Act anent Lands lying Runrig", and most of the divisions took place in the 1730s and early 1740s.

Dodgshon (1975) indicates that the standard picture of the infield-outfield system had to be refined in reference to Roxburghshire prior to the beginning of improving movement. There was a more sophisticated use of the outfield with divisions formed by the tathing, or folding, of stock on sections of it and also that the infield had had divisions from at least 1720 with a five break system, often including a fallow period, being the most common. "Perhaps the legitimate beginnings of farming improvement in Scotland lie not in the eventual removal of infield-outfield farming /

farming, but in these earlier attempts, dating back to the late seventeenth century, to improve the old system of husbandry" (Dodgshon, 1975, p.154).

After the organisation came the preparation of the land as a factor in the improvements. Fenton (1976, p.14) notes that lime was used from the early seventeenth century "in places where lime and coal to burn it were readily available", but we have seen that both were at some distance from Roxburghshire. It wasn't until the 1750s that it began to be used regularly (Douglas, 1798), along with the locally produced marl, and by the 1790s both were in regular use as attested by the ministers in the Statistical Account. The Crailing account, however, records that "the marle is sold so high that lime is considered cheaper notwithstanding the distance of travel" and that from a parish whose neighbours, Eckford and Ancrum, both had deposits of marl.

Ure (1794) observes that enclosure was necessary in Roxburghshire and Lythe and Butt (1975, p.119) state that most of the county was unenclosed in 1805. This is at odds with some other evidence. For example, the Ancrum entry in the Statistical Account includes the remark that most of the parish was enclosed and amidst much 'improving' activity in the Buccleuch estate papers of the 1750s was fencing (GD224/249). Indeed the Buccleuch estate was paying a former parish schoolmaster for planting trees in the tenants' yards as far back as the 1730s (GD224/241).

Other examples of what Fenton (1974) calls "exogenous factors" are the introduction of artificial grasses and of root crops. Potatoes /

Potatoes are mentioned in the Statistical Account and came first to the county as a field-crop in the 1750s (Douglas 1798), but they are given no great emphasis, although there is no reason to doubt that they would play less a part than they did in that other farming community, East Lothian, where it constituted one third of the food of 'common folk' (Fenton, 1976, p.120).

Turnips were also introduced in the 1750s according to Douglas (1978), but they are given much more attention by the ministers. This is partly because innovatory work seems to have been done in the county. Dr. John Rutherford of Melrose experimented with raising turnips in drills instead of broadcast, but it was left to William Dawson of Frogden, near Kelso, to employ drill-husbandry regularly on a large scale. He appears in the textbooks (e.g. Handley, 1953, p.158) as an initiator, but also because he was a tenant, rather than a heritor, and he had had several years in England. Dawson cultivated the turnips to support more cattle, but it was more commonly used to support more sheep and this is probably why it is highlighted in the ministers' accounts of the parishes in the Presbytery of Jedburgh where sheep-rearing was the principal activity.

Subsistence farming was in the past. A surplus of products was no longer an embarrassment. The two burghs consumed more than their landward parishes could produce and the standard of living had probably gone up. Certainly Somerville (1861, p.364) notes the improvement in the quality of the life-style of the tenants in the parish between 1770 and 1810: "most of them live in a better style than I can afford".

The principal focus of the agricultural improvements was sheep. Turnips, /

Turnips, manuring, more grassland meant more sheep could be supported. The enlarging of farms, according to the minister's account for Bedrule, allowed tenants to have ground in both high and low districts so that there could be summer grazing in the hills, and turnip feeding during the winter. As well as developments in feedstuffs, there were also experiments with different types of sheep. Handley (1953, pp.228-231) describes the trends of the later eighteenth century when in Roxburghshire the Blackface was replaced by the Cheviot and later by the New Leicester and with various interbreedings. The object was to attain more and better mutton and more and better wool and the result was that the breeds became less hardy, but more able to benefit from the better growing conditions. For example, sheep which spent less time up on the hills and more in a sheltered pasture had wool which needed no smearing with tar and was not knotted and discoloured. The better mutton in greater quantity met the new demand for butcher meat (Hamilton, 1963) and the wool was spun for the embryo woollen manufacturies and for export to England, but more importantly the improved wool became available locally for the creation of the quality product which emanated from Hawick in the nineteenth century.

Other developments worthy of brief mention are: the winnowing machine first introduced to East Lothian by James Meikle in 1710, but mass-produced by Andrew Rodgers of Cavers from 1737 and still sold by his descendants in Hawick in the 1790s; Gideon Scott who was instrumental in applying water and wind-power to the mills around Hawick in the period 1785-1830, even invented a reaping machine which was opposed successfully by those who gained employment from reaping (Kennedy, 1870); and lastly the tobacco experiment /

experiment at Crailing in which tobacco was successfully raised about 1780, but was taxed out of existence by the government (Somerville, 1861, pp.201-203 and O.S.A., Crailing).

In 1794 Ure wrote; "trade and manufacturies are not carried on to any great extent in the county and their influence on agriculture is not very material" (p.69). Ure was right, but the reverse would not be. At the end of the eighteenth century trade and industry were small parts of the economy, but one could not say that the influence of agriculture upon trade and industry was not very material. The growth and improvement in quality of the Border woollen industry rests upon the prior advances made in agriculture.

Chapter Three

The Burgh Schools

3(i) Preliminary

H G Graham (1901, p.421) makes one of his characteristic assertions when he notes that in the early eighteenth century "the traveller passing through the Border country might have asked in vain to see the school at Hawick and learned that there was none nearer than Jedburgh or Selkirk". Of course, it all depends upon what one means by 'school'. Is it a building, temporary or permanent or purpose-built? Is it where a schoolmaster teaches, with or without regular maintenance, legal or not? The Hawick historians have adopted the interpretation that Graham was referring to post-primary schools. What is clear is that, whatever existed at Hawick, Jedburgh had a school.

Gordon (1869) claims that the Jedburgh school was founded and endowed in the fifteenth century by Bishop Turnbull, the founder of Glasgow University, but there is no confirmation of this. By the end of the sixteenth century there are records of payments made to the schoolmaster in Jedburgh (Maitland Miscellany 1840) so that Foster (1975) can fairly claim after studying the early records of the Presbytery of Jedburgh that the Jedburgh school was well established by 1606. Indeed in 1609 the Presbytery notes that a man has been admitted reader to the Kirk of Jedburgh and "to be doctor in the Grammar scholl and to teitch a musik scholl". If there was to be a doctor, there must have been a school for quite some time and it is likely that the school was initially associated with the Abbey.

Grant (1876, pp.64-5) suggests that the sang school before the Reformation /

Reformation was not only in the seats of great Abbeys, and he mentions Jedburgh, but also in almost all the major Scottish Burghs. He claims that after the Reformation English was taught in many sang schools "though in many instances the burgh or English school and the sang school remained distinct down to the beginning of the eighteenth century". In Jedburgh it appears that burgh and sang school were combined by the end of the sixteenth century; it is interesting to note that the sang school was linked with a grammar school and that the 'sang' element is the responsibility of the doctor.

Various schoolmasters are named during the seventeenth century the last of whom is James Brown who was previously schoolmaster at Selkirk and who was appointed to Jedburgh in 1696. His immediate predecessor appears to have been Robert Colvill (1693-1696) and prior to that was William Hamilton (1682-1693) whose admission was clouded by matters of patronage, politics and religion as well as professional competence. From Brown there is a clear line through to Brewster who resigned in 1803.

As already noted, there are early references to a doctor and from about 1699 there is a succession until 1739 when all references end with the resignation of Robert Chisholm. The circumstances surrounding Chisholm's demission are peculiar as shall be examined later, but it would appear that at this stage the English school appeared a more attractive proposition because Chisholm moved from the Grammar school to the English school. The dominant feature in that decision was probably the mortified money, again as will be seen later.

As /

As English schoolmaster, Chisholm operated in tandem with George Martine. The English school seems often to have had a senior and junior master or more often 'conjunct' masters. In 1649 English and writing were taught in the Grammar school (Grant, 1876, p.546), but the local historian, Watson (1909), claims that accommodation for a separate English school was being sought in 1673. Certainly by 1698 the Kirk Session was considering the destitute condition of the English school and deciding to "take a tryall of" Adam Rutherford.

There isn't a complete list of the English schoolmasters for the period but we have evidence of quite a few until Robert Blaikie who resigned in 1803. With the fortuitous resignation of the Grammar schoolmaster at the same time, it was resolved to combine the two schools so that in 1804 William Lorraine was appointed master of the united school.

Thus Jedburgh began the period with two schools, an English and a grammar, and ended with only one. Hawick, on the other hand, began with one and ended with two. Graham is right when he says that there was no school in Hawick, indeed he is near-quoting a document of the heritors of 1710. There was no specific building for a school; the schoolmaster taught in the Kirk. However that there was educational provision in Hawick prior to the eighteenth century is not in doubt. Foster (1975) states that there had been a schoolmaster in Hawick since 1592. John Lidderdail signed the National Covenant in 1638 and other names appear before John Purdom in 1669. When Hawick had a schoolmaster legally settled according to the 1696 Act will be explored /

explored later.

In 1710 serious consideration was given to education in Hawick and the 1696 Act was invoked. The upshot was that Purdom as Hawick schoolmaster, and on the 1690 list as a teacher of Latin, was made English schoolmaster and a grammar schoolmaster was appointed with the parochial schoolmaster's salary. The following year a substantial mortification was made for the benefit of the Hawick schoolmaster and the first funds were to be used to build a schoolhouse.

The line of succession of English masters after Purdom is sketchy until 1756, but there is a full list for the grammar school. The principal change that took place in the later part of the century was that the parochial salary in 1775 was taken from the Grammar schoolmaster and given to his English colleague.

The implications of that will be discussed later under matters of control and administration which will also cover Jedburgh Grammar School which Grant (1876) quoted as an example of a burgh school becoming a burgh and parochial school. Before that we shall look at, firstly, how the various schoolmasters came to take up their appointment and their contractual obligations, secondly, financial matters concerning income, thirdly, curricular and professional issues and fourthly, where the schoolmasters taught.

3(ii) Selection and Appointment

There is no information about the introduction of any of the Hawick English schoolmasters, but fortunately there is evidence of value for Jedburgh. The first two appointments were in 1698.

"The session appoints Gabriel Hamiltoun who is to succeed as schoolmaster to be delivered to the magistrates in respect they have approved of him." Later in the year the session was still considering the state of the English school and as Adam Rutherford needed and wished the employment they decided to "take a tryall of" him. The qualities to be monitored during the "tryall" were that he "be diligent in suppressing vice, walking circumspectly amongst the bairns, and to pray with them".

In 1702 after the new English school had been built, the session, with the consent of the Provost and councillors, nominated James Henderson as English schoolmaster, and William Rutherford to be his assistant and substitute. Henderson was appointed "to take charge thereof without prejudice to what he could teach of music, arithmetic and writing". When Henderson and Rutherford appeared before the session they were admonished to be "painfull" in instructing the children which they promised to do.

At this stage the appointment seemed to be more in the hands of the session than the council. The council records of 1702 mentioned the building, but not the appointment of the schoolmasters. There is session approval and nomination, but it is the session acting in accord with the council. The session was also involved with Henderson's leaving. He never settled comfortably in to his new post and there were frequent altercations about /

about his salary, what he was owed, when he should be paid.

In July 1705 Henderson asked the session for the previous half year's salary but "the session being informed that he is endow to several in the town thinks it fit to keep this half year's salary in their own hand till they see what way he clears the debt that he is endow in the town and so much the more that he threatens as they are informed to go his way and leave his debt upon the session" (CH2/552/5). Henderson then demitted office, but stayed on for a few more months at the session's request. The session's handling of Henderson is strangely irrational: they withheld his salary because he was in debt, refused to be threatened, yet desired him to stay on after his resignation. Irrational or not, the session was obviously in control at this stage.

The next set of admissions recorded is in 1739. This time there is no mention in the session minutes (or those of the heritors) and the information has to come from the council records. At the beginning of the year the English masters were Robert Turnbull and Thomas Caverhill. In April, Turnbull was removed from office "for certain reasons" to be replaced by John Turnbull. By the next meeting, John "has altogether refused" to accept the post and Caverhill had resigned. It is at this point that Robert Chisholm resigned as doctor of the Grammar School to be English schoolmaster. His partner in office was George Martine, son of a former Bailie who had himself been English schoolmaster in 1715. This was not a sinecure for young George for two years later he left to be English schoolmaster in Selkirk.

No reasons are given in the records for this dramatic reshuffle, but /

696

but they must be connected with the disturbances in local politics of 1734-8. This would emphasise a now important role of the council in the running of the English school, but unfortunately that interpretation is confounded twenty years later at the time of the Boston affair. Chisholm presumably had the support of session and council when he took up the post of English master. In 1758 when he left the Established Church, he pointed out that he was not the parochial schoolmaster, was appointed and paid by the council, and, therefore, did not need to attend the Established Church. Yet he also gave up as English schoolmaster. One is left with the conclusion that the Auld Kirk did still hold some authority over non-parochial schoolmasters or that the session, through poor scholars' fees and mortifications, held sufficient control of the remuneration of the English master to make the post untenable for a seceder.

The heritors' papers include a report of the appointment of Arthur Elliot by the council to the English School in 1760, but it wasn't in the minutes. Indeed the heritors' minutes make no direct reference at all to the English school.

Elliot's successor, James Kennedy, was found to be unsuitable in 1766. The council declared the school vacant having found Kennedy to be "unqualified for that office". The magistrates had consulted Mr. Douglas and Mr. Boston, the Jedburgh ministers, who had been present at Kennedy's admission and they were of the opinion that "by his conduct and behaviour he was not a proper person for the office of schoolmaster" (Jedburgh 1/1/6). There is no report of Kennedy's admission, but it must have been between 1760 and 1765. Boston had had the support of the council and most of /

of the inhabitants at his secession in 1757 so that it is not surprising that he was involved in the appointment of the English schoolmaster. The surprising thing is that within ten years the two ministers should be involved together.

No doubt practicalities led to the participation of both ministers, just as the council found it impracticable to have Kennedy leave immediately. They resolved to continue Kennedy until Whitsunday 1767 because Candlemas was so near and as it was inconvenient to both Kennedy's removing and another coming because of the "inclemency of the weather".

The appointment of Kennedy's successor revealed, for the first time, the consideration of various candidates and, therefore, a selection procedure. There is no indication of how the candidates learned of the vacancy, but five men came forward. The council considered specimens of their writing, and unanimously "elect, nominate and appoint" John Clerk and his son, conjunct English schoolmasters. Clerk elder had been parish schoolmaster at Eckford. No mention on this occasion of participation of the ministers.

In 1792 the remaining Clerk (presumably the son) resigned as he now had a shop. (He was also treasurer to the council.) Again there were five candidates, three were stated to be schoolmasters, and the age range was twenty six to forty. There was, therefore, an experienced field. The appointment was to be made by a committee of council which co-opted the minister of Oxnam as the Jedburgh minister was absent. No mention of the Relief minister. /

minister. The parish schoolmaster of Oxnam was also co-opted to the committee which proceeded to elect Robert Blaikie.

If there is some doubt at times about the "patron" of the English school, there is none about the master and doctor of the Grammar School. The 1656 agreement between heritors and council (quoted in Appendix One) laid down that an appointing committee be established of seven heritors and seven members of the council, eleven including five on each side to be a quorum. This procedure was followed every time in the period under study.

The first three masters were nominated, but they were presumably known because two were from Selkirk and one from Hawick. In 1734 a deliberate change was made and the comparative method was introduced. The post was to be advertised and the candidates' names were to go to the presbytery for its examination. What part, if any, the presbytery actually played is unknown. Six candidates appeared, including the usher at Dalkeith, the schoolmaster at Mearns and the doctor from the Jedburgh Grammar School, but the majority verdict was in favour of James Scott, one of the masters at the Grammar School of Glasgow. Prior to the selection, it was made clear that the schoolmaster would have no title to the salary "after his commencing preacher". This was a frequent feature of elections in the previous century according to Grant (1876).

The joint committee also sat to appoint a doctor in 1737. This time the master was permitted to examine the two candidates and report to the committee. The result was somewhat similar to that /

that reported by Burnett (1927). Scott favoured one candidate, but the committee wanted the other. Scott seems to have been led to conclude that the other candidate with Scott's assistance "might be a doctor of the grammar school". The committee deemed the candidate to be well qualified to teach writing, arithmetic and music and he was elected by a majority. The successful candidate was Robert Chisholm who "won" the mortified money from Scott a couple of years later.

Grant (1876) gives five categories of reasons for removing a schoolmaster from office: non-conformity, political disaffection, inefficiency, over-severe discipline and miscellaneous. While he was referring to masters rather than doctors and in Jedburgh there is little recorded concern, apart from the above, with a doctor's appointment or performance, one earlier doctor, Mark Richardson, fell foul of the church authorities and presumably was dismissed for reasons within the miscellaneous category. In July 1729, there was a "flagrant report of a great scandal". The session first considered the matter without the presence of Richardson, the session clerk, and then suspended him. It was alleged that Mark Richardson had been in the room of Jean Simson, wife of a Mr. Elliot, between midnight and 3.00 a.m. and that a neighbour's maid had seen him leaving "in his stocking soles carrying his shoes in his hand". Richardson and Simson admitted to being together and Richardson was suspended.

The affair passed to and fro from session to presbytery with letters produced as evidence and depositions from witnesses: the postman and carrier gave evidence that letters were sent from Simson, while in Edinburgh, to Richardson; there was a suspicion that /

that Simson was "with child" and people had seen a baby's clothes. Simson's maid stated that Simson had once gone to Richardson's house 'to see the hings of a bed which Mr. Richardson had newly got'. As often happens in such cases, sin begets sin; Richardson was accused of drunkenness. One witness saw Richardson "fall off his horse lay there about the space of an hour when he rose up to take his horse he fell a beating of his horse when he assayed to mount his horse he fell backward and when he was almost on the horse's back the said Richardson fell back and lay a little time upon the ground he mounted his horse again and rode through a shote of corn". When asked if he thought Richardson was drunk, the witness replied "that he thought these were like the actions of a drunken man but cannot say that he was drunk for he was not near him to see and this is the truth". By 1931 an interim session clerk had been appointed, Thomas Caverhill, and the appendages of office had been gradually removed from Richardson. As is so frustratingly frequent, the final verdict and conclusions are omitted from the records, but it does appear that the presbytery annulled the process, that Richardson was fairly dealt with by the session and that he was gently eased out. Certainly his actual dismissal from any of his posts is not reported. One result of his case that is apparent is that the "trial" of such a notable member of the community seemed to bring forth a host of other allegations.

A number of quotations have been given for this case because they are amusing to modern readers, but also because they show the precision and care under which the church courts would operate. In addition the testimony to the drunkenness, together with the kid /

74.
kid glove approach of the session and presbytery, show a reluctance to come to conclusions which suggests that there was behind this case much more than appeared in court.

No doubt because of the turbulence surrounding the Boston secession, the next election of a master, in 1767, was fully reported in both presbytery and heritors' records. The joint committee was established and the following advertisement was placed for two weeks in the "Edinburgh Evening Courant", the "Advertiser", and the "Weekly Journal"

"By the Heritors and Magistrates of the parish and
and town of Jedburgh

WANTED

A person sufficiently qualified to teach Latin and Greek as master of the Grammar School of Jedburgh; and if understands the French language so much the better. The encouragement is £30.3s. sterling of yearly salary with the profits of the school, which it is hoped, will be very considerable, as an able master may expect a flourishing school. Any who offers himself as a candidate for that office must lodge his name, with proper testimonials, of his moral character, and (if now a master or teacher in any school) of his diligence and success in teaching, with the Reverend Mr. J. Douglas Minister of the Gospel in Jedburgh, on or before second day of April next, and must submit himself to a trial and examination before competent judges on Thursday the sixteenth day of said month April. The person to be chosen after examination to enter to the school at Whitsunday next."

(Edinburgh Evening Courant, 4 March 1767.)

There were seven replies to the advertisement, but only four aspirants appeared before the Committee. These four were examined by the "competent judges", ministers invited from the Presbytery. Before the candidates were tested in Latin, Greek and French, one of the bailies moved that the candidates be asked if they had been coached for the interview. The minister thought the question was improper, but it was put nonetheless.

In /

In the presence of the commissioners (heritors and councillors), the candidates were examined on passages from Virgil, Livy, Sallust, Horace, Homer's "Iliad", Xenophon's "Memorabilia", Kerr's Collection, and "L'Art de connaitre les hommes, par M L'Abbe de Bellegarde". They also had to write a translation in Latin of a paragraph from "The Spectator", for which dictionaries were supplied. The scripts were then marked without the examiners knowing to whom each script belonged, and were graded a, b, c. The ministers reported that the first two were both suitable candidates, without saying anything about the other two. They, the ministers, then retired to another room leaving the commissioners to take the final decision. They first voted on whether the final two or all four candidates should be considered, and settled on the two; then on the two, and "by a plurality of eleven to three voices elect, nominate and chuse Mr. William Wilson". (He was the first; the second had no Greek).

Having arrived carefully at their choice the heritors and councillors had to repeat the process because Wilson resigned three days after accepting the post. The civil commotion can't have completely died away because Wilson received a threatening letter to discourage him from coming and it was successful. The heritors placed an advertisement in the "Edinburgh Journal" offering a reward of £10 for information on the author of the letter, but Wilson resigned nonetheless. At this the heritors turned on him and there were proposals to take action against him to recover the expenses of his election, and "for other considerations attending such irregular conduct".

The minister's son was nominated to look after the boys until the magistrates "appoint the vacation" while the appointing committee went into action again. Advertisements were placed, but there were to be no "tryals". Again seven candidates were presented and George Panton, usher at Dalkeith, was unanimously elected. The remaining arguments were over the amount of the election expenses.

There was a presbyterial visit the next year which found everything quite satisfactory and probably took place because there hadn't been the presbyterial examination of the candidate at the second election.

The whole episode is valuable for the detail of the procedure. The heritors' minutes reveal the historical basis on which the appointing committee is established, the open application system and the decisions on which votes were taken. The presbytery minutes attempt to show the impartiality of the examiners, their divorce from the final decision, and the full rigour of the selection mechanism available in the eighteenth century, with examination texts, unnamed scripts and the use of dictionaries.

Although at peace with the ecclesiastical establishment, Panton was unhappy with his working conditions and resigned in 1770. Once more the procedure was set in motion with a Divinity student from Jedburgh as interim schoolmaster. The advertisements brought forth eight candidates, five schoolmasters and three Divinity students. The joint committee decided to readvertise with the additional point that applicants who were Divinity students /

students had to engage to teach for ten years in Jedburgh and not receive a licence to preach in that time. None of the students agreed to these terms and a short leet of three was drawn up. Enquiries were made about the three and James Brewster, doctor of Dundee Grammar School, was appointed.

In Hawick the Orrock Bequest laid down the method of appointment and for the period under study, that was followed. The relevant passage is:

"That Her Grace, Ann, Dutchess of Buccleugh, her aires and successors of their commissioners and Factors in their absence, have the presentations and nominations of the said Schoolmaster, whose ability and gift of teaching youth is to be tryed by the Minister for the tyme and such other learned men as the majea part of the resideing Heretors shall nominate and condescend upon for that effect, AND in case her Grace, Ann, Dutchess of Buccleugh, and her foresaids shall not within the space of Six months after the vaccancie nominate and present a qualified man to the Minister and heriters to be tryed and examined in manner above exprest, That, then and immediately after elapsing of the said six months it shall be leisum (allowable) and free for the major part of the resideing heriters to present such a man to the Minister and Elders to be tryed and examined as said is."

(Watters, 1927, p.41.)

Robert Chisholm in 1718 was nominated by the Duchess and examined by five members of the presbytery in the presence of some of the principal heritors. "After trial both in Humanitie and Greek", he was found to be "sufficiently capable and qualified to exercise the office of schoolmaster in this place and in testimonie both the /

the heritors and minister took him by the hand and wished him health and welfare, being well pleased with answering to all laid out to him anent his discourse" (CH2/1122/2).

Chisholm's successor had been Highland bursar and in 1721, the year of his admission, the synod was informed that he was to take trial for the ministry and to be examined with regard to his proficiency in the study of Divinity. The following year Anderson found himself unfit to enter the trials. The presbytery was very upset about this and took the matter to the General Assembly, but then the matter dropped. No doubt the presbytery was concerned that its investment was going to be wasted while Anderson perhaps discovered that the rewards from the Hawick teaching post were sufficient. Certainly, he held the post until his death a quarter of a century later.

In 1788 George Lamb wrung a pension from the Orrock trustees. His resignation letter contained the condition that nothing should be done until the £10 was received and the Duke's approval given. The Duke was away, however, but Lamb didn't wait. The interesting thing is that the trustees should, in fact, have given him the pension after he had left. There is no mention in the Hawick records of what had gone wrong, why Lamb should resign, why he was given a pension. The first clue lies in the presbytery minutes where a George Lamb, schoolmaster in Hawick but living in Wilton, was accusing the ministers of both parishes of refusing him church privileges, but there is no further explanation. Ten years earlier in 1776 a George Lamb had been fined five shillings by the Wilton session for fornication with /

with one Betty Gray (who was fined only three shillings and fourpence). George later married irregularly, but not to Betty (OPR 810/5). In 1784 a Janet Lamb and two children were transported to Wilton from Hawick as she belonged there and was likely to be a burden to Hawick (Hawick 1/1/3). There is enough there to suggest why Hawick found George Lamb to be an embarrassment.

The appointment of Thomas Barry in 1788 is clearly outlined. Nomination by the Duke; examination by some ministers at the invitation of the heritors. The examination was in Latin, Greek and French and the conclusion: "from the specimens he has given and the recommendations he has produced we are of opinion that by proper application he may become a useful teacher" (CH2/1122/4). In accepting the post Barry had to agree to give up his Divinity studies and if he were to return to such studies he would have to resign giving six months' notice.

The interesting thing about the next appointment, that of Kirk in 1798, is that the examiners were the parish minister and the Librarian to the Faculty of Advocates, Mr. Alexander Brown; the first time that the opportunity was taken to introduce "learned men" other than the ministers.

For the two burghs, therefore, the patronage of the Grammar Schools is quite clear. The fact that there were formal statements of procedure, even if they had very different origins, seems to have given stability to the process so that some care can then be given to the selection and examination. The Hawick method of nomination of one candidate conceals the way in which that /

that one name has been arrived at, but it does appear to have been successful in that only the first two incumbents served for less than ten years. The Jedburgh scheme allowed the introduction of a competition and some innovatory techniques, and the appointing committee of heritors and councillors probably saved the schoolmaster from some of the flak in the skirmishes of local government that Jedburgh endured.

Activities at the Jedburgh English School reveal the kind of difficulties that arise when the patronage is less clear and from which the Grammar schoolmaster was, to some extent, sheltered.

Tenure seems never to have been an issue in the Grammar Schools of Hawick and Jedburgh in the eighteenth century. There were no probationary periods, no contracts, and neither of the major documents, the 1656 agreement and the Orrock Bequest, makes such references, except that the Orrock money is for the Schoolmaster "as long as he is pleased to continue in office there and behaves himself suitably". The 1656 agreement does include provision for regular visitations of the school, but no mention of sanctions beyond "deficiency may be censured accordingly". An early English teacher at Jedburgh was put on "tryall", but that is the only reference.

Two English teachers were sacked, Robert Turnbull and James Kennedy, but no Grammar schoolmasters, although John Purdom at Hawick was sidetracked, and Lamb appeared to resign before a possible dismissal. The Jedburgh doctor, Richardson, left under a cloud, as we have seen, and Chisholm too gave up in unusual /

unusual circumstances. In 1729 the heritors asked the magistrates to "draw up the information against him in writing" as there were rumours about his conduct and behaviour. Richardson spoke in support of Chisholm, but then Richardson was also in trouble at the time. Two local doctors gave evidence that Chisholm had had a distemper in his body which had affected his head some time previously, but they couldn't speak of his current condition. The heritors, therefore, pressed the magistrates to serve a libel on Chisholm, but he resigned before it was implemented. The full disciplinary apparatus, therefore, was not seen in operation.

The findings of Law (1965) in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century indicate that Hawick and Jedburgh, taking account of their local circumstances, were not far out of line with practices in the Capital. Comparative trials became common there by 1739 and from 1739 "it seems to have been generally accepted practice for the town council to refer the examination of candidates for appointment to the High School to Committees of learned men specially chosen for the purpose" (Law, 1965, p.68). It is worth noting that the first competitive examination at Stirling Grammar School was in 1755. However a glance at Grant (1876) shows that the competitive examination was not new then.

3(iii) Income

a) Salary

As in most matters, Hawick presents a simpler picture of the salary situation than Jedburgh. The Hawick schoolmaster received fifty merks from the town as a salary from 1703. The bond exists; it pledges the council "for the encouragement of ane flourishing schooll and ane able and weell qualified schoolmaster", but there is no record of its payment. In 1710 the 1696 Act was at last implemented in that a salary of between one hundred and two hundred merks was settled. "Taking to our serious consideration that there is not a competent sallarie provided for a schoolmaster in the place, to the great detriment of the inhabitants of the town and landward parts of the parochie, although the town be ane of the most convenient places for a school in all the county and at a great distance from Jedburgh and Selkirk which are the nearest schools to this place" (HR 495/6), the heritors stented themselves for two hundred merks, the maximum allowed by the Act. The council renewed their commitment to fifty merks so that the schoolmaster was to receive a total of two hundred and fifty merks.

At the same time as Hawick recognised the 1696 Act, it also divided the teaching role and established a Grammar school and an English school; "when those who learned humanity and those who were lectors, were disjoyned". The legal salary of two hundred and fifty merks was given to the Grammar schoolmaster and the English schoolmaster received nothing.

This /

This remained the position until 1775 when the legal salary was transferred to the English schoolmaster. The records are blank for that period so that there is no explanation given. Certainly the Grammar schoolmaster had just died and the English schoolmaster was well established having been in post for nearly twenty years. His acknowledgement in 1778 for three years' salary includes the statement that the money is "now aliquote to me as teacher of the English school by vertue of a presentation to the patron" (Hawick 1/1/3).

The position prior to 1703 is more vague. That there had been a schoolmaster is without doubt, but his conditions are less certain. Vernon (1902) reports that the inhabitants were stented for a "school master's wage" as far back as 1660. The heritors appear from their records to have first stented themselves in 1710, and yet there are records showing a payment of fifty merks annually from 1699-1710 by the Buccleuch estate. Indeed in 1713 Purdom petitioned the Duke of Buccleuch for £11.2.3 which represented under payment by Buccleuch since 1697 when, according to Purdom, the estate had taken over more ground. Purdom did not win his £11.2.3 but he was given £7.13.1 which suggests that at least on principle he was right.

The estate papers do not go back beyond 1699 so that we can't check further. In 1713 Purdom refers to the "ordinarie salarie" which he lost in 1710. This could refer to the town's fifty merks from 1703, if it was paid, or it could be that the patron of the parish, Buccleuch, had been paying a salary for quite some time. If it had not been for the one-off payment in 1713 the evidence would point to Buccleuch as patron having paid the Hawick schoolmaster fifty merks per annum as far back as 1699. The additional payment puts the time back to before 1697, /

1697, but the reason for the payment, Buccleuch had gained territory so owed more, suggests that Buccleuch was paying a sum which was dependent upon the extent of his estate. This suggests a proportion and, therefore, a tax of some kind on all heritors rather than an individual gesture from the patron. After 1710 Buccleuch paid £7.5.9 per annum to the Grammar schoolmaster, which is sixty six per cent of the two hundred merks to be paid by the Hawick heritors. Purdom was claiming £11.2.3 underpayment for twelve years which would be roughly sixteen merks per year. That together with his fifty merks would be sixty six merks which is sixty six per cent of one hundred merks. It is possible, therefore, that the Buccleuch estate had been paying its proportion of the minimum required by the Act since at least 1697. The Buccleuchs had been generous to schoolmasters elsewhere; the Dalkeith master was given by them a salary of two hundred and fifty merks in 1647 (Mackay, 1969).

After 1775, the next major revision took place as a result of the 1803 Act. The Hawick heritors stented themselves for six hundreds merks, One hundred and fifty merks were to go to other teachers, one hundred merks to the Grammar schoolmaster "as part of his salary is paid to his predecessor at present" (a 'pension'), fifty merks for house rent for the English schoolmaster and three hundred merks to him for salary as parochial schoolmaster. The 1826 return gives the post-1803 salary of the English master as £22.4.5. If it is correct, there must have been some increase between 1803 and 1826, but it is more likely that the 1826 return is in error, perhaps, by including the house rent.

Jedburgh, being a Royal Burgh, has a more documented history and there are /

are records of payments to the Jedburgh schoolmaster from the Common Good fund in 1591 and 1592, forty five and thirty merks respectively (Maitland, 1840). In 1692 the "State and Condition of the Burghs of Scotland" gives the Jedburgh salary as three hundred and fifty merks (SBRS, 1881).

Grant (1876) notes that the master received three hundred and fifty merks in 1649: one hundred and fifty from heritors, fifty from a mortification, one hundred and twenty from burgh and thirty from session. There is evidence of at least one heritor's share from 1671 (GD 237/90/1). In 1704 the salary is recorded as £21.16.4 from the council and £8.6.8 from the heritors and that remained the situation up to the 1803 Act. The heritors, therefore, have kept their contribution at £8.6.8 since at least 1649 while the council's share went up from £6.13.3 in 1649 to £21.16.4 by 1704.

The English schoolmaster received £4 per annum at 1716 from the council, but for how long before that is unknown. There was an increase in 1731 to £5.11.1 and in 1792 to £12.

In 1804 the Grammar and English schools were combined with a total salary available of £33.16.4 from the council and £7.6.8 from the heritors. Thus in spite of the 1803 Act there was no additional financial provision for salary in Jedburgh.

Figure 8 /

Figure 8 Burgh School Salaries

	Pre 1700	1700-1750	1750-1803	1803
Jedburgh Grammar	1692 £19.18.10	1704 £30.3.0)))) £42.3.0
Jedburgh English		1716 £4 1731 £5.11.1	1792 £12))
Hawick Grammar		1703 (1710 (£13.17.9	1775 Nil	1803 £5.11.1
Hawick English		£2.15.7 (1710 (Nil	1775 £13.17.9	1803 £16.13.4

If one bears in mind that the scale under the 1696 Act was £5.11.1 to £11.2.3 and 1803 £16.13.4 to £22.4.5, one can see that the parish school salary in Hawick was over the maximum when it was legally settled in 1710, but was left at the minimum after 1803. The Grammar school had no public salary by the end of the century. Jedburgh, however, was exceedingly well provided prior to the 1696 Act and early in the eighteenth century the salary was nearly three times larger than the legal maximum for a parish school. The English school too was well funded. By 1731 it had a sum equivalent to the minimum under the Act which was increased in 1792 to just over the maximum. As we have noted, there was no actual increase in investment after 1803, merely a bringing together of the two salaries.

In general the Scottish burghs are considered to have been good to their own schools. "Most of the burghs had schools on which they lavished attention and in some cases considerable sums of money" (Ferguson, 1978, p.96). In the major towns this probably meant quality rather than equality as the goal, but "in the small burghs, however, educational provision compared favourably with that obtaining in Lowland country parishes. /

parishes. Here the Grammar school taught reading, writing and arithmetic as primary subjects ... but also took more boys on to a Latin curriculum than most schools in the countryside" (Smout, 1972 p.438).

Scotland (1969, p.124) gives a range of salaries which shows a significant increase over the century: £8.6.8 to £16.3.4 at the beginning, £11.10.0 to £22.5.0 in the middle and £30 to £50 at the end. There are, of course, many examples to fit this pattern, e.g. Dundee Grammar School £12.15.6 around 1700 (Stephenson, 1973), Perth Grammar School £17.15.6 (Harding, 1975), High School of Edinburgh £16.13.4 in 1738 and South Leith £11.2.3 1735 (Law, 1965), Kelso £22.4.5 (Smith, 1909) and Selkirk £16.13.4 1720 (Sharpe, n.d.), but there are also exceptions: the Linlithgow salary was £22.4.5 in 1707 (Grant, 1876) and Dundee's was about £60 at the end of the century (Stephenson, 1973).

According to these standards Jedburgh would be an exception: double the top point at 1700, equal to the bottom point at 1800. More importantly it was exceptional in that there was no increase during the century after 1704. Hawick Grammar school was even more exceptional as a burgh school in that it had an average salary on its inception and finished the century with no public salary at all (although we shall see later it had a substantial mortification). These two burghs, therefore, did not increase the financial provisions for salaries for their grammar schools after 1710. As we have noted, both Jedburgh and Hawick did not follow clearly the model of either the parish or the burgh grammar school so that it is not surprising that the salaries were out of line.

The /

The English schools, as English schools, were badly off in comparison with other burghs. Stephenson (1973) states that in Dundee the English school salary was £12.15.6 at the beginning of the century and £20 at the end. In Edinburgh and Perth the salary in the later eighteenth century was £15. Again, these comparisons cannot be held too strictly as the Roxburghshire schools evade clear definition.

In terms of the Acts the parish of Jedburgh was well provided at 1696 and again after 1803. Hawick was legally provided for after 1803, at the lower point, but appears not to have been so at 1696.

Certainly the legal salary existed after 1710 and if the speculation surrounding the payments by the Buccleuch family is accurate it could be that the 1696 minimum was being paid at least in 1697. Great play is made in the records of recognising in 1710 the 1696 Act, but, as events at that time are complex, it may be that the Act had been, de facto, implemented, but it was dragged in to justify other actions.

Finally there are the doctors to the Jedburgh Grammar School. The doctor was paid from the Common Good forty merks in 1654 (Grant, 1876) and an unspecified sum in 1662 (E82/34/5), but it does not appear that he received a regular salary at any stage. One heritor paid something in 1682 (GD237/90/1) and Robert Marr received £3.11.8 from the council in 1721, but, on both occasions, the schoolmaster's post was vacant. In 1685 the then doctor, William Walker, complained that the schoolmaster, William Hamilton, was not paying him so that it was likely that the schoolmaster's salary was as large as it was because he had to pay the doctor from it though there is no mention of that in the records.

3(iii)b Mortifications

The financial position of schoolmasters in both Hawick and Jedburgh was significantly affected by mortified moneys. In Hawick there was one substantial fund, but in Jedburgh there were two smaller funds.

The minor Jedburgh mortification was for three hundred merks and benefitted the English schoolmaster. It was established in 1758 by a Mrs. Scott, late wife of a former provost, for teaching poor scholars, indirectly, therefore, for the English schoolmaster and was under the control of the Kirk session. In 1777 the council agreed to the Kirk Session's request that all mortified moneys be made into one capital sum as there were several small funds for the poor. Certainly one of them, the Robson account, stopped in 1776 (CH2/552/24) so that it is likely that all the funds were brought together, including the Scott capital.

The major fund was the Yester mortification and it was the source of much dispute in the period. There is no doubt that the capital sum by the eighteenth century was two thousand merks. It appears that one Lady Yester left one thousand merks in 1631 for the schoolmaster of Jedburgh and for the poor. By 1678 this fund had accumulated a further five hundred merks of interest and Lord Jedburgh added five hundred merks so that the total was two thousand. The last five hundred were specifically for the poor. The schoolmaster's share was for teaching twelve poor scholars, but exactly what proportion of the one thousand five hundred merks was for the poor and what for the schoolmaster was nowhere stated formally. In practice each had had half.

The /

The annual sum for teaching twelve poor scholars would, therefore, be between thirty merks (at four per cent) and thirty eight (at five per cent), not a fortune when compared with the Grammar schoolmaster's salary, but a significant sum when compared with the minimum allowed by the 1696 Act. The later disputes tended not to be about how much money was involved, but rather who was to be the recipient and which was the administrating body. The legal documents mention the schoolmaster of Jedburgh, but not the Grammar schoolmaster, the English schoolmaster or the parochial schoolmaster. The 1678 bond mentions a role for the Presbytery, but the 1631 one does not.

The day-to-day management is by the Kirk Session. In 1700 it considered the distribution of the mortified money and had claims from James Brown, present Grammar schoolmaster, William Hamilton, a former Grammar schoolmaster, and James McCubin, a former precentor. The decision is unrecorded, but the previous year Brown had been paid thirty six merks, part of what he claimed, and the following year, 1701, Brown was paid thirty merks.

In 1702 a new English school was built and the session gave £3 out of the mortified money "to help settle and encourage the English school". After that there were several payments of £3 per annum, "bestowed by the session upon the school as a salary", by the session to the English schoolmaster who paid his doctor ten shillings from that. It is likely that this 'salary' was from the Yester money.

Matters were not allowed to rest for long, however. In 1708 Brown was agitating for the thirty merks that he used to receive. His claim was granted and the records show that he received thirty merks per annum in /

in 1709 and 1710, at least his doctor received it on his behalf.

At first reading it appeared that the doctor took it for Brown from the session because he, the doctor, was present as session clerk.

It may well be that, just as we noted earlier that the English schoolmaster received 'salary' from which he paid the doctor, so Brown may have used the mortified money as the remuneration for his doctor, or he may have decided from 1708 to use it for that purpose knowing that the session clerk would have interest in ensuring prompt payment.

Brown's position was not damaged by these disputes because he was invited to meet with the session and magistrates "to consider what is needful" about the English school in 1710. The outcome was that there would be two special church collections each year "for encouragement of a pretty man to be maister" and that the council would do something too. The session was, therefore, going to support the English school, but not from the Yester fund. This cannot have satisfied Brown, or perhaps his doctor, the session clerk, because a committee of the session was eventually established to look into the matter of the mortified money.

The committee found that since 1697 the English schoolmasters had been paid £90.15.0 Scots from the fund for teaching poor scholars, and that the Grammar schoolmaster was named in the deeds, he was "infert", and that Brown should be given what he claimed as back payment less the £90.15.0 Scots, and have £10 Scots yearly for the future on the condition that he inspect the English school and pupils, but Brown would "quite nothing of his right". As often happens on such occasions the session decided to delay the matter until there was a fuller attendance. The attendance /

attendance varied from six to twenty six and on this occasion there were eleven. The next meeting also delayed the item, only ten present. The next session had eighteen present so that it apparently was competent to take decisions.

Its decisions, or recommendations, are also typical. A strong line was taken: Brown had not been teaching the poor children so that he was not entitled to any of his claim; the committee's recommendation was, therefore, overturned. However "for his encouragement" the session would grant Brown his claim, less the sum already laid out, and for the future Brown should teach up to twelve poor, "English to those that need to be taught English and Latine to Latiners", for which he would receive the full salary from the Yester mortification.

Brown did not accept these proposals, which, in the face of it, appear very generous to Brown; he received some back money and all the future interest. His refusal must indicate that he didn't want just the money, but the control of the money, that is, that he could decide who was to teach the children and for how much. Brown proposed that the affair go to an arbitration panel and that each side choose one member with a chairman mutually acceptable. Each side chose a bailie and the current provost was chosen as 'oversman'.

Unfortunately the results of the panel's deliberations are not known; although we do know that meetings were arranged, they may well be on one torn page which includes a reference to £20 (Scots), and there is another reference where the amendments to the minute are such that it is difficult to decide what the intention was. (After tracing an affair /

affair such as this one begins to wonder whether these accidents are completely accidental.) We do know that the accounts show Brown to have received ninety merks in 1713, to correspond perhaps with the torn page, another ninety at the beginning of 1716, and thirty in 1717 and in 1718 as he "uses to have yearly of the session".

At this period, therefore, it looks as if the Yester money was used to pay an annual sum to the grammar schoolmaster of thirty merks. (This would be the interest on seven hundred and fifty merks at four per cent.) Who actually taught the poor children was never said.

Brown's successor, Chisholm, struck a bargain with the session over the Yester money. It may be that he merely agreed to that which had been the practice, but it is minuted that the annual rent of seven hundred and fifty merks would be paid to Chisholm for teaching up to a maximum of "twelve poor bairns" with the proviso that, if the session found the teaching unsatisfactory, they could remove the children, with the consent of the Presbytery, "give them to another" and pay him the annual rent. The session this time was underlining its trusteeship and its control and was making reference to the role of the Presbytery.

Chisholm may have been more easygoing in financial matters because he appears to have been quite affluent. He had been schoolmaster at Hawick and Selkirk previously. Eight months after his call to Jedburgh he lent the council £100. By 1724 the Council was recognisably in financial straits and the following year in a statement of the plight Chisholm was seen to be owed the £100 capital sum, two years' interest and a year's salary. When Chisholm resigned in 1729, the burgh raised £100 /

£100 from the minister to repay Chisholm's bond, now in the hands of a Mr. Scott of Ancrum.

Whether Robert Petrie taught the children himself is unknown, but he did receive at least two years' interest in his five years tenure. It is claimed that the custom was for the grammar schoolmaster to teach the poor boys and to commit the poor girls "to some others who taught English in the town and no doubt agreed with them in the cheapest way they could" (CH2/198/36/5).

James Scott's long term of office was punctuated with further conflict over Lady Yester's mortification. In 1737 the Kirk Session minutes record that poor children were presented to Scott and he ordered that they be taught in the Charity School run by Isabel Turnbull. A close eye was kept on all of this by the session. The names of the poor children were put up to the session by elders for approval, before being presented to Scott. Elders visited the Charity school. If the numbers were low, they looked round to see if they could make it up to twelve. This conscientious attitude may be due to the fact that the minister was newly appointed.

In 1739 Scott was cited in the session for putting girls out of the Charity school and he was ordered to return the girls to Agnes Turnbull (Agnes, successor to Isabel, or more likely the same person) and pay her what was due. It would appear that he had taken the girls to the Grammar school. Later that year, in July, the session recorded its intention to apply to the Presbytery to withdraw the poor scholars and the annual rent of the mortified money from Scott and give them to another /

another in accord with the terms of the agreement with Chisholm in 1724.

When the matter came before the Presbytery in November, the session backed its case with evidence from the parents of the poor scholars who had withdrawn their children because they were not benefitting from the teaching at the Grammar School; the children "were neglected by Mr. Scott and did not profit under him". Scott undertook to "teach the boys himself sufficiently" and to present for the Presbytery's approval someone to teach the girls; "the Presbytery and Session both acquiesced therein".

During the following year, 1740, the Presbytery proposed to take the deed of mortification to the Church Procurator to see if the money was meant for the overseer or for the teacher, but it does not appear that this was carried out. Also the Presbytery examined two women as to their suitability to teach the poor girls. Scott presented Barbara Rule, but as there were some objections to her, Agnes Turnbull was also examined, and the conclusion was the "either of them might be entrusted with the Instruction of the poor Girls".

That ought to have been the matter settled, but while the Presbytery was examining the women throughout 1740, the Session resolved to take the poor children and the mortified money from Scott and give them to the English schoolmaster. Not surprisingly Scott appealed to the Presbytery that the Session had so acted "notwithstanding what had passed before the Presbytery". The session's position was that, since Scott did not himself teach all twelve poor scholars, the "design" of the /

the mortification was not met and, examining the deed, the session found that it was the session, not the presbytery, that had "the power for lodging the bairns for instruction". The Presbytery then examined the deed and ruled that "they could not judge in that cause as it is now before them".

This does settle the matter, for the time being, but it is interesting how the session appears to have changed its stance. It was not concerned about the poor girls being taught in the Charity School when it was visited in 1736 and 1738. In 1739 it threatened to withdraw the children from Scott and in 1741 it did so. Certainly there was some agitation that the children were not satisfactorily taught so that the session was perhaps bending to public opinion, but one can't overlook two other explanations which are not necessarily independent of each other. Local politics could again have intervened. It was suggested later (CH2/552/45) that Scott was deprived of the moneys because he did not support the minister and one bailie, "a leader in the town council", in promoting their side of an election.

The other factor is the possible influence of the new recipient, Robert Chisholm. This is probably not the Robert Chisholm who was Grammar schoolmaster from 1721-29 who had been in Hawick from 1718 and in Selkirk for fifteen years before that. The present Robert Chisholm is last heard of in 1776. It is possible that he could have had a long life, but unlikely. The first Robert Chisholm resigned in 1729 with suggestions of ill-health and there is nowhere a reference to connect the two. Indeed there is no indication that the new recipient of the money is the person who made the 1724 agreement.

Assuming,

Assuming, therefore, that this is a different person, perhaps a son, it is very interesting to see that he resigned his post as doctor of the Grammar school in 1739 to become English schoolmaster. In addition he was session clerk and precentor, heritors' clerk, presbytery librarian, an elder, and collector of the poor money; a man of position. It is reasonable to assume that the money was given to Chisholm rather than the English master. Also after Chisholm resigned in 1758, the Yester money reverted to Scott in 1760. Chisholm joined the Boston Church while Scott, after some vacillation, stayed with the Auld Kirk.

It is interesting to note also that there were no doctors at the Grammar School after Chisholm. The English school must have become the place for pupils to go to learn the three Rs so that there was no need for a second master in the Grammar School. Furthermore the English school must have become a more attractive proposition for the teacher with the access to the Yester money.

There is a formal statement of the duties and responsibilities, fees and penalties, etc. concerning the teaching of the poor children and the Yester fund in the Session minutes of 1760 when Scott is 're-appointed'. Unfortunately that didn't clear up the matter for the future because three years later Scott was claiming the interest of the fund from 1738 to 1757 and he was taking action through the Court of Session. The council and session joined to fight Scott on this because they claimed he did not even teach the poor for eighteen of the years in question. The council's involvement was because they held the bond for the capital sum; in 1761 the Sheriff had ruled that the /

the council could pay the interest directly to Scott without any necessary reference to the session, but the council had agreed to uphold the old arrangement whereby the session supervised and paid the money. The legal verdict of 1764 was that Scott had no right to past annual rents, but being legal schoolmaster he was entitled to them in future if he taught the poor scholars presented to him. There followed a long statement concerning the detail of Scott's relationship to the session, the administration of the money, of what was to be taught, the penalties for transgression, one of which was to "suffer them (the poor) to be abused by his other scholars".

(CH2/552/12). Scott's final throw was to offer to give up future rights if given past moneys. The session, in the light of the Court ruling, did not believe he was entitled to past moneys, but in the interest of the poor children who might profit better at the English school than at Grammar School they offered him two years past money - which he accepted and was dead the following year, 1767.

In 1766 the poor boys were presented to James Kennedy, English master, and the girls to Janet Richardson. The session records then have a gap from the 1770s to after the schools united in 1804 so that we can only assume that the Yester interest stayed away from the Grammar School.

The Hawick situation was less complex. In 1710 the heritors stented themselves for two hundred merks according to the 1696 Act, but, instead of giving it to the existing schoolmaster, a new appointment was made. No records remain to give any details of why the old schoolmaster was by-passed or what was meant to become of him. This financial /

financial improvement was obviously not sufficient for the minister, Alexander Orrock, because, three days before his death in 1711, he made a will leaving nine thousand merks the interest of which was for the "schoolmaster of Hawick", Mr. James Innes, "so long as he is pleased to continue in office there and behaves himself suitably", because "the present salary settled in the parish of Hawick on a Schoolmaster is not sufficient to encourage or engage any man of parts to continue in or accept of that office in the said parish". What that says for Innes is open to conjecture.

The first rents and arrears were to go to building a schoolhouse and dwellinghouse for the schoolmaster, and thereafter the proceeds were for the schoolmaster. The building was not completed until about 1735, but in the interval the schoolmaster was given house rent (in 1731 £3.10.0) from the fund. The annual interest would amount to some £25 at five per cent (the rate laid down by Parliament and agreed by the session), more than twice the maximum recommended by the 1696 Act.

Although none of the documents of 1710 and 1711 actually say so, what was happening was that a grammar school was being created and the previous schoolmaster was being left as the English schoolmaster. As indicated earlier, the grammar schoolmaster received the legal salary as parochial schoolmaster, a further sum from the council, and the mortified money: an enormous sum, but only ^{for} a limited period because in 1775 the legal salary and council contribution were transferred to the English school.

Thus /

Thus the Orrock Bequest endowed the Grammar School in Hawick.

Provision was made for teaching poor scholars gratis and when the school was vacant the interest "shall be employed in buying what Books shall be judged necessary for assisting the said Schoolmaster in instructing the youth committed to his charge".

The bequest was to the parish, namely the minister, elders and heritors, and it is very clear that the nomination of the schoolmaster was in the hands of the patron, the Duchess of Buccleuch and her heirs. The nominee's "ability and gift of teaching youth" was to be tried by the minister and "such other learned men as the major part of the resideing heritors shall nominate". This procedure was faithfully adhered to throughout the period under study.

What part then did mortifications play in the educational provision in Hawick and Jedburgh? They provided significant sums of money in addition to those legally provided. In both towns the poor benefitted, but whereas in Hawick the legacy extended the provision of post-elementary education, in Jedburgh the two funds supported the elementary level. It cannot be said that the existence of these private funds released the council and heritors from their public responsibilities because there was public funding in both towns beyond the maximum of the 1696 Act and in the nineteenth century both parishes supported side schools. There must, however, have been an element of cushioning; for example, when in 1769 the heritors were approached for school fees for a poor scholar they could direct the applicant to the Yester fund with the session (HR172/2).

The/

The existence of the funds is also very useful to the historian because they often involved formalities and legal complications which reveal details about appointments, local relationships etc. While Hawick seemed to act in a fairly unitary and unified way, at least in the first part of the period, Jedburgh had frequent disputes between burgh and landward areas, council and heritors. The Yester mortification, to some extent, exacerbated this problem by referring only to the poor in the town (rather than in the parish as a whole), but more generally it was employed with propriety and indeed flexibility. For example, in 1747 the session used all the Yester money for the poor in need "considering the hardness of the season" leaving the poor scholars to be covered by a "draught from the session" (CH2/552/11).

3(iii)cFees

Fee levels are difficult to ascertain. Not only were they not minuted in any detail until about 1803, but even then there can become conflict between different accounts.

In the early years the information comes from payments of the school wages by the session on behalf of poor scholars. In Hawick the rate seems to have been one merk per quarter. In Jedburgh poor scholars apart from the twelve covered by the Yester mortification, were taught for half the normal rate. In 1699 this poor rate was half a merk per quarter and stated in 1721 to be sixpence. The translation from Scots to sterling is approximately the same, but not quite; it works against the teacher. (Parallels with the introduction of decimalisation!)

Just as was noted earlier that the salary given to one master was often to support an assistant as well, so there must have been an arrangement on how to divide the fees and the only evidence discovered here is that the Jedburgh English schoolmasters in 1704 split the fees equally.

Hawick and Jedburgh, therefore, appear to have the same fees at the beginning of the century, but one can't be completely sure. The problem is compounded later, but at this stage what does the one merk's worth cover? In 1703 the Jedburgh council minutes record that reading and writing were to be charged one merk per quarter and arithmetic twelve shillings Scots at the English school. ("Extraordinary writing" had to be negotiated with the payer.) Is it one merk each for reading and writing, or one merk total? It has been assumed that it is the total, which is then interesting because it places arithmetic as costing more /

more and it shows that poor scholars tended to be taught reading and writing, but not arithmetic.

Somerville (1861, p.348) recalls that fees at Duns in 1752 were: reading one shilling, reading and writing one shilling and sixpence, and Latin two shillings and sixpence per quarter. "The same fees were, I believe, charged at Kelso and Hawick".

At the end of the century and after the 1803 Act when levels were more scrupulously defined, the fees were often expressed as: English two shillings, writing two shillings and sixpence, arithmetic three shillings, per quarter (HR495/1). (Another account, in PP.1826, suggested that these Hawick figures should be two shillings and six pence, three shillings and three shillings and sixpence, but one would expect the former to be more accurate.) The difficulty from reading many such statements is to know whether the sums are for individual subjects or are they cumulative? Are the three Rs three shillings while reading is two shillings? This paper will follow what appears to be the accepted interpretation that the figures are cumulative. Simpson (1947, p.117) states that "the fee for a more advanced subject such as arithmetic or Latin usually covered tuition in the more elementary subjects".

The problem does not arise at Jedburgh after 1780 where the fees were given as English one shilling and sixpence and the three Rs two shillings and sixpence (PP 1826). After 1804 the position is:

reading, writing, arithmetic,	3/6 each,
reading and writing,	5/-
writing and arithmetic,	6/-
Three Rs	7/6.

The /

The Jedburgh fees at the level of the three Rs are, therefore, much more expensive than Hawick:

English	3/6 to 2/-
Three Rs	7/6 to 3/-.

The Hawick fees doubled in a century, but the Jedburgh fees went up at least threefold. This position is reversed when one looks at the more advanced subjects. According to the Answers to Queries from the Sheriffs. (PP 1826), the fees are as follows:

	Jedburgh	Hawick
Latin	5/-	7/6
Latin and Greek	7/6	10/6
French	at discretion of schoolmaster	5/6

In addition, the post 1780 rate for Latin at Jedburgh was three shillings and fourpence (PP1826).

Hawick's higher branches were more expensive and while Jedburgh's three Rs trebled between 1780 and 1894, the Latin fee went only from three shillings and fourpence to five shillings. The explanation for the discrepancies must be related to the fact that in 1804 the Jedburgh English and Grammar schools combined. The fees were proposed by the council and supported by the heritors, but neither group had increased its contribution to the salary so that increased revenue would have to come from fees and the majority, at the bottom of the pyramid, would have to bear the brunt.

In Hawick the English schoolmaster's salary was increased, but not /

not that of the Grammar schoolmaster. Hence it is possible to suggest that high fees for Latin, Greek and French were the only way for the latter to increase his income. Unfortunately, we do not know if the differential between the two sets of fees at Hawick had always been maintained or whether the 1803 Act had brought about significant changes as it appears to have done at Jedburgh.

It is unfortunate that there is not more evidence on fees because the income from fees was probably the biggest part of the schoolmaster's income. It certainly was the case in Edinburgh for both English and High School, (Law, 1965, pp.49 and 72), and Grant (1876, p.466) describes fees as the "most constant and important" source of income. In common with the normal practice as found by Grant, fees in Jedburgh and Hawick were to be paid in advance and we assume that they were collected by the master himself, but it does not appear that there was a distinction made between the fees paid by those living within the town, and those in the landward area.

As to the level of fee, Scotland (1969, p.125) suggests that at 1700 sixpence per quarter would be low, and half a crown high and by 1800 the fees in towns would be approximately two shillings and sixpence for reading, three shillings for two Rs and three shillings and sixpence for three Rs. The Edinburgh fees don't follow that pattern, but Dundee's English School charged one shilling for the three Rs in 1712 and roughly two shillings and sixpence in 1773. Against these norms Hawick is in line, but Jedburgh is high.

Stephenson (1973) notes that a reduced fee was paid in Dundee for poor scholars at least between 1736 and 1752. The reduction was fifty per cent in Jedburgh, but this was the session's decision because the formal position, according to the 1656 agreement, was that the Jedburgh schoolmaster should teach gratis the poor of the burgh and landward parish. Furthermore the Yester fund provided for twelve poor. The poor scholar's rate, therefore, was paid only to private teachers, with the occasional inclusion of the English master when the Yester money was being paid to the Grammar schoolmaster.

The fact that formally the poor had been well supported in Jedburgh makes the steep fee rise in 1804 even more notable. One could understand that the requirement of the 1803 Act to have the deserving poor taught gratis could have meant an increase in fees for those paying (or indeed an increase in the basic salary), but there is no such justification for Jedburgh.

The explosion of the fees in 1804 could result from the fact that the fees had not gone up during the eighteenth century and this might be an illustration of the fees being held down as Withrington (1970(ii)) argues. Unfortunately such a view with regard to Jedburgh requires evidence of a concern for fee levels etc which is not at all apparent in the minutes of council or heritors.

3(iii)d Other emoluments

Hawick and Jedburgh schoolmasters served as session clerk, precentor, heritors' clerk and collector of the poor money at various times, and, as at Selkirk, the Jedburgh list could also include presbytery clerk and presbytery librarian. In Hawick after John Purdom, these duties appear to have been undertaken by the English schoolmaster. In Jedburgh, the posts generally were held by the doctor to the Grammar school and thereafter by the English master. The clerkship to the presbytery was sometimes held by a neighbouring parish schoolmaster, but after about 1726 the ministers kept their own records.

All of these posts gave some financial rewards, but it is often difficult to give details. We do know that the presbytery clerkship was worth £2 (Scots) per annum in 1722. Precentors had been supported from early on. The 1656 agreement at Jedburgh includes a clause that the heritors' share of the schoolmaster's salary was originally for the "Schoolmaster reader at the Kirk of Jedburgh" and the heritors state that should any salary be paid in the future by the heritors to any reader or precentor it should be deducted from their £100 (Scots). In Hawick the 1703 bond of the council to pay fifty merks was for a schoolmaster and precentor, but the 1710 version omitted the references to precentor.

John Purdom in Hawick received £1.10.0 per annum from 1710 for reading in the church and inscribing testimonials, an arrangement made with Reverend Orrock to make up for Purdom's loss of salary /

salary at the disjunction of the schools. This appears to remain the salary for church duties until 1768 when Inglis complained that there wasn't a salary for the session clerk and was given £1 per annum. In Jedburgh a formal salary for the session clerk also came late: in 1750, £1 was awarded from the penalties as long as the penalties amounted to that (and interestingly enough there were more money penalties thereafter); in 1761 this was increased to £1.10.0 including four shillings from the Robson mortification for keeping its accounts.

There is one cryptic reference in the Jedburgh heritors minutes of 1795 to increase the precentor's salary by £2.10.0 per annum. There is no apparent increase to the schoolmaster's salary so that it can have had nothing to do with the original £100 (Scots) mentioned in 1656. As there is no other reference to the heritors' paying the precentor nor any expectation that they should, one is left with the conclusion that it means the salary for the heritors' clerk. The use of 'precentor' may be significant in that there was an emphasis at the end of the eighteenth century on the role of the precentor, of the schoolmaster and of Sunday Schools as will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

The Jedburgh heritors' clerk was given occasional payments in the 1750s and a salary of £1.5.0 per annum in 1762, increased to £2 in 1764, but down to £1.5.0 in 1769. It is likely to be this salary which was increased in 1795 to £2.10.0. The collector received a salary of £1 in 1742, but for how long that lasted, or whether it was later included in the clerk's salary, is not recorded. /

recorded. Hawick has no indication of salary for these posts.

The 1646 and 1696 Acts both called for a commodious house for the school. The provision of the building will be considered in Chapter 3(v), but, when there was no building, house rent was often paid which must be considered as a supplement to the schoolmaster's income.

Before the building of the Hawick Grammar School, house rent was paid from the Orrock Bequest, £3.10.0 in 1731. The English schoolmaster, from 1710, was recorded as to receive house rent of five shillings from the session and five shillings from the council, but in 1714 he was petitioning the session that "heritors and town fall upon ways and means for clearing of the bygone rents extending to £24 Scots (£2) and providing a house" (CH2/1122/2). Whether the original allowance was never paid or Purdom was too badly off to pay is not clear, but he did produce a session minute of 1683 to support his case, the minute showing that the session had agreed to build a school and move it out of the Kirk. The outcome appears to be that the amount allowed for house rent was slightly increased; a council minute of 1715 records five merks (5/7) to be given by the town for a house for the English schoolmaster as half the rent, the other half to come from the church. In 1722 Purdom received £2.4.5 from the council as four years' house rent. It now looks, therefore, as if the council was paying the full allowance and the session no longer contributed. It may even be that the rate was increased from 11/1 per annum to 13/4 in 1738 (Hawick 1/1/2), but a schoolhouse was built the following year.

After the flood of 1767 carried away the English school, house rent /

rent was again paid, half by heritors, half by council, but how much is unknown except that Buccleuch's share was £1.19.1 in 1773. As Buccleuch was the major heritor, it is likely that the total house rent was approximately £4.10.0.

At Jedburgh, from 1702 at least, there was an English school, and the Grammar School in the eighteenth century moved from a site within the Abbey, through various rented premises to a purpose built establishment in 1779. House rent was paid at different times. At least as early as the 1670s the schoolmaster received £40 (Scots) from the heritors. That sum had increased by 1721 when Chisholm received £5 house rent as "encouragement", two thirds from heritors (that is, their £40 Scots) and one third from the council. There is a record that Chisholm's successor at least received one year's proportion from the council in 1733. In 1745 the next schoolmaster was petitioning the presbytery that he wasn't receiving the allowance given to his predecessors and there was much confusion about who was responsible for buildings, etc. The upshot is that in 1751 the council bought a house and let it to the schoolmaster for thirty shillings per annum. (Note: thirty shillings is about the council's share of the original £5 house rent.) Whether the heritors' share was paid from that point is not known, but certainly it was paid from 1753 through 1765 (GD224/249). In 1776 the current master was awarded £10 per annum house rent by the heritors in the light of his "experience and assiduity as teacher" while the new school was being debated. House rent was, therefore, paid quite regularly when there was no school /

111

school building and the actual sums increased during the century, but there is a clear distinction in the rates awarded to Grammar and English schoolmasters.

Grant (1876) quotes some examples of pensions being granted to retiring schoolmasters, but not many. Bain (1965) describes the first pension at Stirling Grammar School in 1778 as early. The three cases in Hawick and Jedburgh appear to illustrate the use of pensions in this period.

Firstly, Chisholm, retiring from Jedburgh Grammar School in dubious circumstances, asked for a pension in 1729. The heritors responded that they could not lay an additional burden on town and parish, but agreed to write to all their members and to the magistrates to seek something for him for life. There is, however, no evidence of what, if anything, Chisholm received.

The second case is at Hawick Grammar School. George Lamb offered his resignation, as he "cannot be useful as teacher of said school", if he was provided with £10 per annum for life or until he was provided to his satisfaction in any established living. The circumstances surrounding his being "useful" were, once more, dubious, but he must have remained unprovided at least until 1803. His pension was to be paid from his successor's salary, which came from the Orrock Bequest, but part of the 1803 establishment was that one hundred merks of the sum stented by the heritors was to go to the Grammar schoolmaster because he was still paying the pension to Lamb.

Thirdly, /

Thirdly, this is the pension given to Brewster, of the Jedburgh Grammar School, in 1803. He had been in post for over thirty years and offered to resign because of "bodily distress and the infirmities incident to old age", if given a suitable alimony. The heritors and council agreed to give him £25 per annum, but in what proportion is not stated nor is there evidence of from where the money would come. We do know that in 1815, after Brewster's death, the £25 went into the pool from which schoolmasters' salaries were paid (HR172/15).

Chronologically there is a progression from the voluntary basis of Chisholm's pension through the formal agreement of Lamb, the burden of which is borne by his successor, to the publicly-funded pension for Brewster. One cannot, however, draw any conclusion about the trend towards proper superannuation, because the first two cases were not straightforward. The pension for Chisholm was an after thought; he had already resigned, rather than face a libel. He can't have been poor because it was he who lent the council £100 shortly after his appointment, so that the request for a pension was probably an attempt to make something out of nothing and draw upon whatever goodwill remained. In Lamb's case the pension was a device to avoid embarrassment. It was a way out for both parties: the master could give up without complete financial loss and the parish could appoint a new and satisfactory schoolmaster at no further cost. Only in Brewster's case was the pension a result of long and satisfactory service, and indeed it was ample reward; £25 was more than the maximum suggested by the 1803 Act. It does, however, go some way to explain why Jedburgh did not increase the salaries after 1803. /

1803.

It is interesting to note that as far back as 1767 Jedburgh was paying the expenses of unsuccessful candidates at the election of the Grammar schoolmaster and eighty five years before that a successful applicant was given his removal expenses to Jedburgh from Dysart.

Another source of income which was probably substantial, but for which there is no detail, is the keeping of boarders. The presbytery, after a visitation of the Jedburgh Grammar School in 1768, was so satisfied that it placed an advertisement in the Newcastle and Edinburgh papers extolling the Rector and school. The purpose of which action must have been to attract pupils, although Panton resigned in 1771 because of the inadequacy of the position with regard to the school and school-house. His successor petitioned on the same grounds and amidst the debate as to who should pay for a new building etc, it was said that the heritors had no legal obligation to provide a dwelling house for schoolmaster and boarders (HR172/2).

There is a receipt dated June 1771 in the session papers which acknowledges the minister's having received £1.18.0 from the heritors "for advertising the school here" and £0.8.10 "for letters relative to said affair" (CH2/552/45), but unfortunately that is not conclusive. Not until 1803 do we have clear evidence in the advertisement for the master for the united school that boarding took place.

The Jedburgh historian, Watson (1909), claims that about 1760 the /

the English school "had attained so good a reputation and so excellent a standard that a gentleman in London was at the trouble and expense of sending his daughter to be initiated and instructed in the principles of the English language". Unfortunately there is no source acknowledged and no references are to be found elsewhere. It would have been a remarkable story if it could have been verified.

In Hawick a Presbyterial visitation of 1794 had described the teaching room of the Grammar School as insufficient and the newly appointed master four years later had to be reassured that there was to be some improvement; he wouldn't put his family into the existing house and it was quite unsuitable for boarders. As a result a new schoolhouse was to be hired and we assume that it took account of the point about boarders, but there is no evidence as to whether there had been boarding at Hawick prior to this.

One of James Thomson's biographers, Macaulay (1908), notes that Thomson would have had to reside in the town during the week because his home in Southdean was too far for daily travel. It is very likely that the Jedburgh and Hawick schoolmasters took boarders, particularly as there is evidence that it happened at Selkirk and many of the schoolmasters seemed to originate from Selkirk.

William Dyce, when at Selkirk, received £126 (Scots) for board for Harden's son in 1734 (GD157/785), but we don't know for what period that sum accounted. In Dumfriesshire as early as 1695,
a /

a schoolmaster, John Fraser, received boarding fees of £18 (Scots) per quarter when the school fees were only £6 (Scots) per annum (Adamson, 1980). Boarding would, therefore, be a lucrative addition to the Roxburghshire schoolmasters' income.

Of the other traditional sources of revenue, e.g. bent silver, cock money, Candlemas offerings, there is no direct reference. All that exists is an unsupported account by Watson (1922) that Candlemas offerings were stopped about 1885 by the School Board, that they were worth about £50 per annum (N.S.A.), but there is no evidence for the eighteenth century.

3(iv) Curricular matters

It is very disappointing that one learns little of what happened within the classroom. In Jedburgh the 1656 contract between heritors and council (quoted in Appendix One) laid down the parameters of school life and as the contract was still valid in the nineteenth century with regard to the respective responsibilities of heritors and council one might assume that the other conditions were generally followed throughout the eighteenth century. School hours were to be 6 to 9 a.m., 10a.m. to 12 noon, 2 to 6 p.m., except for Wednesdays and Thursdays when the close was 4 p.m., and Saturdays 3 p.m. On Sundays there was to be catechism with the schoolmaster, then Church morning and afternoon. The schoolmaster was responsible for attendance and behaviour at Church, and for good order on holidays. Children aged six to fourteen years were expected to attend school and their parents were still liable for the fees if the children were absent.

With regard to the age range, the Kirk Session records of 1760, 1765 and 1766 give the ages of the twelve poor children to be taught under the terms of Lady Yester's fund: in 1760 the boys and girls were aged six to twelve, in 1765 six to fourteen, and in 1766 five to fourteen. The expectation that children should be at school from six to fourteen years of age was, therefore, maintained.

There is, however, no evidence in the Jedburgh records for the period under study that there was any enforcement to attend. In 1698 the session permitted intimation to be made from the pulpit to /

to advise parents that the English school would be open, but that is the only appropriate reference. Nor is there any evidence to show continued enforcement of the parents' liability to pay fees even when children were absent, whatever that meant in 1656.

The school hours prescribed above are in accord with those referred to by Grant (1876), but there is no evidence of amelioration in the eighteenth century as discovered by Law (1965) in Edinburgh.

Supervision of the boys during church services was an issue in the eighteenth century and formed a part of the conflict between Scott and the authorities from 1757. At the beginning of the century there is much attention given in the session to the activities of the "idle boys", not at school, not at work, not going to church, or playing in church. Interestingly enough the solution was not to exhort the schoolmaster to fulfil his duties, but to mobilise the elders: country elders to suppress pranks during sermons; elders to take notice of children not at work or school and report to session that it "may know them and be better informed about them" (CH 2/552/2); elders on duty to be asked every Monday to say what diligence they used in suppressing the idle boys at the corners of the Church during the sermon. When there were disorders at the football, the session asked the magistrates to prevent such future occurrences. The only reference to a schoolmaster in this context is in 1704 when, as some of the boys "wandering during sermon" were scholars, the English schoolmaster was to cite the boys to appear at the next session. It would appear, therefore, that in /

in the early part of the eighteenth century in Jedburgh the parochial schoolmaster was not expected to exercise discipline as outlined in the 1656 contract.

An alternative explanation would be that the expectation remained, but was only voiced when a schoolmaster was under criticism for some other reason. This was certainly the case with Hamilton in 1692 and with Scott.

After the Boston secession life in Jedburgh took some time to settle down. The Boston congregation contained most of the population including the council and the former elders of the Auld Kirk, and the only group predominantly anti-Boston were the heritors. They had even complained to the presbytery that the matter had become an issue in the council elections (CH2/198/11). Their attention turned to the schoolmasters in 1758. Both attended Boston's Church, but were summoned to appear before the presbytery. Chisholm of the English School argued that he was paid and appointed by the burgh and, therefore, not subject to church discipline.

Scott claimed that he did attend Church sometimes and supervised the boys, but most boys were at the Boston Church so he went there sometimes and supervised the boys. When asked if at latter church there was a separate place for boys, he replied that there wasn't, but that that was no bad thing. He was then recommended to attend the Established Church regularly. The heritors again pressed the Presbytery in 1760 to charge Scott about his attending Boston's Church and not performing the duties required of his office. Scott's defence was in writing as /

as he claimed "he is not so distinct in speaking", a not very fortunate admission, however one understands it, for a schoolmaster! The following proceedings are a splendid example of a rearguard action by Scott. He put forward the view that the obligation to attend church was initiated in days when the alternative was Episcopal, non-jurant, Jacobite, but it was not intended for those well-affected to Church and State. The heritors were still unhappy, needless-to-say, with the next development when Scott stated that he attended once a Sunday, but also went to Boston. Scott then asked for two months to think over the seeming inconsistency of attending Boston and signing the formula. His next step was to admit that he would attend the Established Church once a Sunday, and even sometimes twice a day. The Presbytery desired him to do just that, but also not to attend Boston.

The heritors appealed to the Synod which rebuked Scott after he confessed his wrong and the affair seems to end there with the heritors still of the view that he has been dealt with too easily. There are no council minutes for the period and the session minutes make no reference at all to this aspect of the case; they concentrate on the difficulty over the Yester mortification. Scott, in the end, followed the line of his paymaster, the heritors, and received back as a bonus, (and perhaps as a reward), the Yester money. If such cynicism is improper, the gentle irony of Watson (1909) might be more appropriate: "the penitent schoolmaster accordingly quitted Boston's congregation, and until his death seven years later remained faithful to the parish church".

If /

If all of the 1656 contract at Jedburgh was no longer implemented, the principal legal document at Hawick, the Orrock deed, is more amiss; it says nothing about curricular matters, even translating "curricular" as widely as we shall in this section.

The actual subjects taught in both burghs are revealed by the qualifications demanded of the teacher, the subjects in which he was examined, and the fees charged. The Statistical Account is usually a good source of information on such matters, but the Hawick and Jedburgh entries virtually ignore education.

available

The staple diet of Latin and the three Rs was apparently [^]all through the period under study. Hawick and Jedburgh have the only two schoolmasters teaching Latin in the presbytery at 1690 (Withrington, 1965). Purdom at Hawick clearly taught both when he described the events at Hawick of 1710-11 as "when those who learned humanity and those who were lecturers, were disjoined" (CH2/1122/2).

In 1718 Chisholm at Hawick was examined in the Humanities and Greek; seventy years later Barry was examined in Latin, Greek and French, and there are no additional subjects mentioned in the 1826 report to the Sheriffs (PP1826). At Jedburgh in 1767 the advertisement for the Grammar School post mentioned Latin, Greek and French, and these were the subjects that were in fact examined. The actual texts were listed earlier in section 3(ii). The 1804 settlement at Jedburgh required a schoolmaster qualified to teach English, French, Latin, Greek, writing, arithmetic and Geography. The list of fees produced later mentioned /

mentioned also book-keeping, navigation and mathematics.

Interestingly the council reported that the united school would need a person "of more liberal education than could otherwise be expected upon the assurance of the Grammar School salary"(!) (Jedburgh 1/1/9).

The Jedburgh session ruled in 1698 that the Grammar School children should repeat, learn or recite the catechism before the last bell forenoon and afternoon, and one of the complaints five years earlier was that a pupil was speaking English in the Grammar School. The complainant was obviously in agreement with Grant (1876, p.162): "while the admirable custom of speaking Latin prevailed, there were more learned scholars and masters than have existed since our knowledge of that language has been derived from books only".

In the 1656 contract the doctor was required to teach the three Rs and music. In 1702 the English schoolmaster was expected to teach music as well as the three Rs and in 1737 Chisholm, as doctor in the Grammar School, was deemed qualified to teach music. No doubt when there was no doctor the music was taught at the English school so that it looks as if music was taught in conjunction with the three Rs, that is, as part of elementary education. Some discretion was obviously left to the teacher because in 1703 the fee for "extraordinary writing" was to be negotiated with the payer (Jedburgh 1/1/4). There is perhaps an example of that skill in the session minutes where there are several pages covered with the line "industrious performances seldom fail" (CH2/552/9(i)).

The /

The poor scholars were usually seen to be placed in the English School or with a private teacher, but this was not universally the case. In 1715 John Vert, a poor scholar, was supported through the Grammar School (CH2/552/7). Prior to that, in 1702, Andrew Tait, a former pupil of the Grammar School, unable to support himself at "colledge" over the winter, was given sixpence (Scots) a week from the elders.

The three lists of twelve poor scholars (1760, 1765 and 1766) give some details of interest. We have noted the age ranges earlier, but it is interesting to note that there were only two of the 1760 list still there at 1765 and only one of them went on to 1766. Of the 1765 list only four went to 1766. There is, therefore, quite a turnover which suggests that school life was short. It would also appear that it was a minority who stayed beyond the age of ten. As the lists have the father's name, one can see that the offspring of one family were still at school so that there is some check against the possibility that the children were only at school for a short period because they were only in the town for a short period.

The 1766 list also gives the stage of reading which each pupil had reached. There is no correlation between age and level, but the levels appear to be: beginning reading, the single catechism, Proverbs and then the Bible. The one pupil who appears to have been at the school from 1760 to 1766 was still reading the single catechism.

The session supplied poor scholars with the Bible, catechisms in the early part of the century, Testaments later and at least one /

one "Rudim", possibly Ruddiman's "Rudiments" although it was only two years after Ruddiman's book was published.

The later chapter on private teachers will show that the education of girls was one of the principal reasons for the existence of these other schools. It was often the case that the English schoolmaster taught the boys while the girls were catered for elsewhere. Certainly towards the end of the century sewing schools were more common.

Grant (1876) quotes many examples of the acting of plays by Grammar School pupils, including at Selkirk in 1731 the erection of a stage. Three years before that there is an item in the council records of Jedburgh resolving to build a stage for the convenience of scholars "to act the play" (B38/7/1). It is possible that the facilities for drama were not a continuing concern, but were only brought to mind by the previous item on the council's agenda: to appoint a scaffold to be built for an execution.

The poet, James Thomson, was educated from 1712 to 1715 at Jedburgh Grammar School from whence he went, at the age of fifteen, to Edinburgh University. Most of his biographers merely noted this fact; for example, "after the usual course of school education under an able master at Jedburgh, Mr. Thomson was sent to the University of Edinburgh" (Murdoch, 1773).

A more florid account is given by MacAulay (1908, p.3):

"Young /

"Young Thomson was sent to school at Jedburgh, where the classes were held in an aisle or chapel of the partly ruined Abbey; and as the distance from Southdean is about eight miles, he probably resided in the town during the week. He made no very brilliant impression on his schoolmaster: an early biographer says that he was considered stupid, 'really without a common share of parts.' He was probably judged by his progress in Latin grammar, while he was chiefly devoting his attention, even at this early age, to English poetry."

Dr. Thomas Somerville, minister of Jedburgh, was educated in Hawick and in "My Own Life and Times" (1861, p.7) he records the fact as follows: "After having attended first the English and then the Grammar School of Hawick, I was sent " Perhaps because he had lost his mother he was latterly educated at Duns while residing with a relative. His account of his experience at Duns may not be completely unlike that of circumstances in the other Border towns:

"Mr. Cruikshank had obtained, deservedly, high reputation as an excellent classical teacher. Both his method of teaching and his conduct - I mean within the walls of the school - have, however, on mature reflection, suggested just grounds of censure. He confined the scholars too long to servile use of translations. Corderius, Erasmus' Dialogues, and Cornelius Nepos, with the Latin in one column and the English in another, were our first school books; and when Caesar's Commentaries, Ovid's Metamorphoses, etc., unaccompanied with translations, were put into our hands, he read over and translated the whole lesson, not leaving any part of it to be made out by the scholars. His discipline was capricious, and often passionate. He did not know what it was to cherish a generous ambition in his pupils by praise or rewards; and when he withheld the rod, he pursued them no less severely by raillery, which, to bashful boys, was more tormenting than stripes. But the heaviest charge I have to bring against my old master, is not only the absence of religious principle and the neglect of inculcating it, but the making that /

that defect apparent by a 'jesting that was not convenient,' or indecent sneers and innuendoes with respect to certain portions of sacred history, and the doctrines of revelation, too obvious to escape the discernment of his scholars. Fortified by the impressions of a pious education, I thank God that this wantonness or indiscretion never excited in my mind any other feelings than those of vexation and fear. But upon some of my companions it produced a different and most pernicious effect."

(Pp.8-9)

When discussing remuneration we mentioned briefly the Candlemas offering. The Candlemas 'King' started the annual game of handball at Jedburgh. In Hawick the schools were also integrated into local customs. In 1747 the council agreed that the Grammar School ^{flag} should be paraded next to the town standard at the Common Riding. After them came the English School colour and the apprentices' colour. The Grammar School flag was last carried in 1777 (Watters, 1927).

There is still (in 1981) in Wilton Lodge Museum a school flag reputedly yellow and inscribed "H.S., 1744", but it is in a very decayed condition.

Somerville (1861, p.345) also recollects that an old schoolmistress, the daughter of James Brown of Jedburgh Grammar School, "regularly treated her scholars to a dance or ball on Christmas Day and Good Friday; and who told me that this had been the common practice of all schools in her younger days".

The community also produced one resource which was no doubt of benefit to the better scholars; a library. Wilson (1880) states that a public library was established in Hawick in 1762. There is no confirmation of that date, but it is oft quoted, e.g.

Pigot /

Pigot (1820) and Rutherford (1866). The presbytery records have lists of books in Hawick library for 1711 and 1761. What is likely is that the books were those left by Orrock in 1711 to his successors. In 1712 Innes, the Grammar schoolmaster, handed to the session receipts for various books which he had borrowed, including Littledean's Latin and English Dictionary and Robinson's Greek Lexicon. The 1711 list would, therefore, be the catalogue prepared at Orrock's death, and the 1761 list could have been made because of the developments which were completed in 1762. Innes' receipt shows that the library was, at least indirectly, benefitting the school.

Robinson (1979) suggests that the 1762 library was a subscription library and she refers to a printed catalogue of 1792.

It is possible, therefore, that the Orrock books were put into the general stock of this new venture.

Jedburgh also had a subscription library, but from what date is not clear. When the new Grammar School was built in 1779, the heritors allowed the members of the library to put up shelves and stow books in the Heritors' Room in the new school. In 1801 the Heritors permitted the library members to put in a fireplace to keep the books in good condition and to erect a separate entrance which kept folk away from the schoolroom (HR172/3). After the union of the schools in 1804, the library gained the lease of the old English School (Jedburgh 1/1/9).

The origin of this appears to lie with the presbytery. In 1709 the General Assembly ordained that every presbytery seat should have /

have a public library (CH1/1/22). This would be why the presbytery entered into negotiations with Thomas Rutherford of Rutherford over his library. He approached the presbytery in 1716 "desiring them to take his library as it stands into their care and inspection" (CH2/198/7) and if Watson (1909) is correct he had already built a room over the English School to accommodate the library.

The presbytery prevaricated for quite some time, made encouraging noises, but eventually in 1721 it agreed that each member of the presbytery should pay ten groats per annum for the support of the library. It would appear Rutherford had begun a venture with his library and was hoping to benefit from the presbytery's obligation in accord with the 1709 resolution.

In 1747 Rutherford and the presbytery were to be consulted when it was suggested that the floor above the English School should be the site of the new Grammar School, but one or other vetoed that idea so the library stayed.

The gap between 1747 and 1779 is covered by evidence given by Robert Chisholm to the presbytery in 1776. In that year the presbytery wanted to know about the library and summoned Chisholm. He reported that he had looked after the library until the English School "became ruinous" when the books were moved to a cupboard in the townhouse and he had nothing to do with them since. Chisholm, it may be remembered, had joined the Boston Church and given up as English schoolmaster about 1758 so that it is likely that the removal of the books took place between 1747 and 1758. It does explain why proper accommodation was being sought in 1779.

3(v) School buildings.

At the time of the 1696 Act, Hawick's schoolmaster taught in the Kirk. This had been recognised as far back as 1665 as unsuitable. Hawick's heritors seem to have done nothing, nor were pressed to do anything, as a result of the Act, to provide a commodious house. It was the generosity of Alexander Orrock that stimulated change. The first rents and arrears of his bequest were to go to building a school and schoolhouse. The session minutes record the supervision of this fund although the gathering of interest due was not always easy. Evidence of the accumulation of the interest appears until 1731, when, one must assume, it was employed in paying for the grammar school built at the Sandbed. Watters, (1927), historian of the Orrock Bequest, has traced some receipts dated between 1732 and 1735 for the building of "ane schooll and house to the schoolmaster of Hawick" although the site was, according to a Heritors' minute of 1766, bought by the Kirk Session in 1728 "for the behoof of the poor".

Hawick's first purpose-built schoolhouse was therefore erected about 1735 and when in 1766 the issue arose of who pays the feuduty on the land (paid every thirty years as it is community and not private property) the session applied to the heritors to cover half of the cost, which they did without question (HR495/1). Prior to the new school, the grammar schoolmaster was paid a house rent from the Bequest as we have noted earlier.

The grammar school and schoolhouse underwent substantial repairs and improvements in 1763; raising and relaying garret floor, thatching, plastering, putting in a stair up from the school room, windows, new school /

school seats, etc. (GD 224/257). A new garden dyke was erected in 1766, and further repairs to the roof in 1771.

By 1798 James Kirk found the state of the schoolhouse to be such that he wouldn't accept the post without the assurance of some change. As a result, it was agreed that a new schoolhouse be hired, the old one rented out, and any difference in rent to be covered by heritors and council.

When the parish school was ousted from the Kirk by the grammar school, the schoolmaster was paid houserent. It was not until 1739 that the council agreed to build "a sufficient English school of thirty foot long within walls and sixteen foot wide within the walls" (Hawick 1/1/2). In 1756 James Inglis soon after taking up office was awarded one half of a sum not exceeding £4 sterling "towards assisting him in the reparation of his dwelling house". The other half to be paid by the heritors perhaps. The great flood of 1767 carried away Inglis' house and he was then given house rent, half of it paid by the heritors.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was agitation about the state of the school. Inglis used a room in the Council House while the schoolhouse was being repaired. Armstrong was granted a similar request two years later in 1806. The council were now adopting the position that it was not their responsibility to contribute anything towards the building or repairing of schools or schoolhouses; they argued this belonged exclusively to the heritors of the parish. They did, however, offer £150 sterling in 1808 to a fund for new schools without any future obligation.

This /

This attitude, no doubt, prompted the amalgamation of the schools in 1824 and expedited the single new building completed in 1826, financed by the heritors and therefore the parochial school.

Throughout the eighteenth century there were two schools in Jedburgh which gained public support, that is, support from the Burgh Council, heritors or Kirk Session. These were the Grammar School and the English School. There is some evidence, to be discussed later, in Chapter Six, that there were two schools in the landward area outwith the Burgh that may have been aided, but they could not be regarded as public schools until the nineteenth century. Watson (1909) claims that about the beginning of the eighteenth century the Grammar School moved into new premises within the Abbey and he supports this with evidence from Council minutes to show that various complaints and repairs were made in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This is unsubstantiated, but by 1743 the Abbey accommodation was unsatisfactory because the steeple beside it was likely to collapse. This danger was reported to the Council in January and in March 1744 the council sought the assistance of the heritors as it was the parish school. The heritors, of course, delay discussion until the next meeting, two weeks later, but there is a gap of six months in the minutes.

The delay was obviously too much for James Scott who in May 1745 petitioned the presbytery that the Grammar School was threatened by the steeple, that he had applied to the magistrates without effect, and that he had no dwellinghouse or allowance. The presbytery decided to seek the view of the Church Procurator about the presbytery's power "by law as to the building and repairing of school houses" and how the /

the presbytery should proceed.

The record of what happened for the next two years is given only in the presbytery minutes and in brief it is as follows:

July 1745	Moderator made excuse that he had not yet written to Church Procurator. Appointed committee to visit Jedburgh school and to warn heritors and council to attend. Workmen also to be in attendance.
August 1745	Jedburgh minister made excuse that he had not yet intimated above meeting.
September 1745	Two members of presbytery attended meeting at Jedburgh school, but no-one else appeared. Conclusion - "the presbytery considering that the season for building or repairing is now over agreed to delay appointing a visitation till next meeting."
4 December 1745	Met at a member's funeral. Been unable to hold normal meetings for last two months "by reason of the Pretender's son and Parties of Rebels going through the country", but the Scheme for Ministers' Widows and Orphans needed a report by the end of the year so arrange a meeting for five days' time.
9 December 1745	Delayed Jedburgh visitation.
January 1746	" " " Appointed Scott to attend next meeting "if he designs to insist for a visitation".
February 1746	Scott indisposed by severe cold, didn't attend, so delay.
5 March 1746	/

- 5 March 1746 Scott appeared. Insisted on visitation. More necessary now because rooms he had hired were taken from him and he could not get more after Whitsunday. Visitation to be in three weeks.
- 26 March 1746 Workmen reported that school was unsafe. Presbytery agreed to recommend to heritors and magistrates that they hire a room after Whit for one year and in that time they consider proper provision. Presbytery would resort to law if they didn't comply.
- Scott to report to Presbytery from time to time.
- Procurator to be consulted over law with regard to provision of dwelling house as well as schoolhouses.
- 2 April 1746 Delayed consulting Procurator till next meeting.
- 30 April 1746 Delayed because they heard Procurator was to be changed.
- June 1746 Scott reported that he had waited till Whit and heritors had done nothing. Jedburgh minister was advised to call a parish meeting to urge heritors to implement presbytery's recommendation.
- July 1746 Report that parish meeting was to take place next day.
- August 1746 Jedburgh minister reported that the meeting took place but "being few (in numbers) declined giving answer".
- He had conversed with some heritors who believed schoolhouse to be a responsibility of council, while council believed Grammar School to be the parochial school and, therefore, a shared responsibility, in which /

which the council was willing to pay one third
"as of use and wont".

The presbytery concluded that it would recommend
Scott to apply to the Commissioners of Supply as
presbytery was not a judge in this matter. They
did appoint a member to "concurr" with Scott in
presenting his case.

The judgement of the Commissioners of Supply was reported in the
heritors' minutes for November 1746: the heritors and magistrates
were to meet and stent themselves for a new school. As it was the
parochial school, they were both liable, and furthermore they were to
pay the schoolmaster for hiring a schoolhouse in the interval. The
joint meeting agreed that the best place for a grammar school would be
the "middle story of where the English School is now taught". The
problem was that that room housed the library presented by Mr.
Rutherford to the presbytery and he built the room to accommodate it.
Rutherford and the presbytery would need to be consulted.

The burgh clerk was charged to look into the matter and the outcome was
that the library was not to be moved and a house would have to be rented.

The Council was faced again in 1751 with the need for a 'convenient
Grammar School' which would be good for the children and good for the
town and they resolved to buy a house which was to be let to the
schoolmaster for thirty shillings per annum. The fears about the
steeple appear to have been realised for the weathercock was reported
to have fallen from it and needed to be replaced "for the intelligence
of the weather". Five years later the magistrates applied to the
heritors for permission to use stone from "the old Latin school" to
mend /

mend the steeple, and in 1764 the gabel (gable end) and door of the old school were to be built up to prevent "idle boys" climbing on to the steeple. One of the deacons was permitted to occupy the building till the following Whit as long as he saw to the door and wall.

Watson (1909) records that only two years after purchasing the new accommodation the Council was made aware that the school was "insufficient" for the needs of the town, but because the burgh finances were in a perilous state it was not until 1758 that a solution was found, namely, to pay the schoolmaster houserent which it had done formerly.

In 1770 we have already seen that the schoolmaster resigned because no action was taken over his request for a new school and school-house. Five years later his successor, James Brewster, was making a similar petition to the heritors, but he was more patient. The heritors ascertained that they had no legal obligation to provide a dwelling house for a schoolmaster and boarders, but gave him £10 to rent a suitable house for a year, without this being a precedent for the future. Their objection did not appear to have been directed towards provision for boarders, but rather the legal obligation with regard to a dwelling house.

By 1778 plans for the Grammar School were being considered and detailed accounts of the building requirements were given, for example:

Inside measurements	32 feet x 16 feet
height	10 feet
walls	20-22 inches thick
5 windows	2'10" x 5'10", with door in proportion
2 vents in gables chimney	3½ feet square
master's desk	3 feet square
seating & bookboards /	

seating & bookboards	to run from each side wall
	leaving an aisle 4 feet wide
bookboards	18 inches wide or as master
	thinks fit.

The total cost was estimated to be about £82.10.0 which would be paid in three instalments: one-third at the beginning, at the covering of the roof, and at completion. Its site was to be at the end of the English School within the churchyard.

The debate then turned to who should pay for the new building. The country heritors argued that the town should pay one-third as it did for Kirk repairs and for the rent of the present school. The councillors argued that all should pay in proportion to their valuation irrespective of other practices. They empowered their representatives to agree to a neutral advocate if that were to avoid a "lawsuit or improper misunderstand", but the heritors would not wear it. After delays, it appears that the heritors had their way, but with tokens of good faith on both sides: the town agreed to advance ten guineas so that work was not stopped while principles were debated and the heritors called for all defaulters over past thirteen years to settle their debts over rent of the school. In April 1779 the architect presented his "plan for elevation", a little more "ornamented" than the original, with a roof made of "sarking" and raised sleepers eight inches from the ground. The new plan was found acceptable as long as the heritors were put to no further expense. Once more the town steeple was in a dangerous state, and whereas before it was repaired with stone from the old school on this occasion all the loose stones were taken to build the new school. Other features of the new premises were a coalhouse, a causey at the front door and a road from the school to the Canongate by Dean's Close. The school itself appears to /

to have been completed by the end of 1779.

The one to two proportion between council and heritors was still upheld in 1783 and 1787 when various repairs had to be made to the Grammar School. By 1803, the building was again said to be in disrepair and, when the Act of that year was brought to the attention of the heritors, they claimed that they were not sure that the Act applied to Jedburgh. However a solution was forthcoming when both Grammar and English schoolmasters resigned and the united school was established.

In 1804 the Provost reported to the Council that the heritors had stented for £500 to cover purchase of house for the schoolmaster, to be repaired and fitted to accommodate boarders, and a considerable addition to the school. (A later note about the library reveals that the English school, although adjacent to the Grammar School, was abandoned at the union.) The heritors, of course, now looked to the council to put forward its share of the money and threatened to go to law if the council did not co-operate. The Provost recommended that the Council pay as "it was extremely unpleasant for the town to have any dispute with the heritors whose general conduct towards the burgh was not illiberal", that a lawsuit would be expensive, "the event at best uncertain", and the accommodation planned was reasonable. The Council agreed unanimously, but noted that their payment on this occasion did not constitute a precedent.

In 1842 the burgh council went bankrupt, paid its share of the school salaries only three times in next twenty-two years, and in 1864 the heritors took over all the rights and responsibilities concerning the school; /

school; it too became clearly a parochial school.

Information about the existence of the English schoolhouse is less clear. Repairs were being sought in 1689-99 (CH2/552/2). In 1702 a new school was built in the churchyard and it had a loft for the use of the schoolmaster (Jedburgh 1/1/4). The Kirk Session was reported to be "weel pleased and satisfied" with the plan; and gave £3 to "help settle and encourage the English School". Furthermore the landward elders gave sixpence a week from their collections for the same purpose.

With its financial support, the session took a special interest in the new start for the English School. Where the session recommended the schoolmasters to the magistrates "who has built a school and house", the minute is amended with the clause "which the session has contributed for the same" and the minute recording the sixpenny collection has a later addition after the reference to the school "which the session likewise approves off".

Special collections were ordered in 1710 by the session "for encouragement of a pretty man to be maister" after the session and the magistrates had met about the English School "to consider that is needful thereanent". The session's interest thereafter was confined to the money made available by the mortifications and the maintenance of the English School was left to the Council which is recorded as making repairs in 1716 and 1722.

As noted above the English School housed what began as the presbytery library; in 1714 Rutherford of Rutherford built a room over the school for /

for the library thereby pushing the schoolmaster's room up to the second floor (third level). The library was removed, during Chisholm's tenure, but after 1747, to the town house because of the poor condition of the building, but the school must have remained on the same site until the union of the schools in 1804.

One last note of interest is that in 1776 the burgh laid down that it would no longer reimburse the masters of either school for repairing broken windows (Jedburgh 1/1/7,). This probably was a reflection of the burgh's financial condition rather than a comment upon the teachers' discipline.

Maintenance of buildings in Hawick seems to have been shared by heritors and council for both English and Grammar schools, although the Orrock fund paid for the Grammar School in 1735 and the council for English School in 1739. In Jedburgh the heritors had nothing to do with the English school and shared responsibility for the Grammar School with the Council. The English School was built with finance from the session and the council, but maintained thereafter by the council.

In 1779 the new Jedburgh Grammar School was built. About 1780 Kelso also built a new school (Smith, 1909). Interestingly it had the English school on the ground floor and the Grammar School above, the scheme suggested in Jedburgh in 1747. The Jedburgh dimensions were thirty two feet by sixteen feet by ten feet high while the Kelso ground floor was very similar, thirty one feet by nineteen and a half feet by nine and three-quarter feet: the Grammar School above was somewhat /

somewhat smaller. The 1737 English School at Hawick was thirty feet by sixteen feet so that there appears to have been something approaching an accepted size for a school in the second part of the eighteenth century in this part of the Borders.

3(vi) Management

Grant (1876) quotes Jedburgh as an example of a burgh school becoming a burgh and parochial school. Schools of the latter kind he describes as: "found in burghs of small note frequently the only one in the town and parish " (p.100). The transition took place with the contract of 1656, quoted in full in Appendix One, when the joint committee of councillors and heritors was established to elect the schoolmaster and the doctor. In 1656 the school probably was the only one in the town, but that Jedburgh was a burgh of small note then is more harsh, though there is no doubt that it suffered during the eighteenth century.

When one considers 'management' at the period, one has to allow for the formal role of the church, and, in particular, the presbytery. Grant (1876, p.94) separates the church's jurisdiction over burgh schools from patronage. Following Grant, we shall look at the role of the presbytery in a later section, but here we shall examine the management within the parish. The kind of issues that are involved are: control of appointment and dismissal, ongoing supervision, financial provision for the schoolmaster, provision and maintenance of buildings, control of provision of private education. Again the last named will be examined in more detail in Chapter Six.

The 1656 contract says nothing about buildings, little about finance, but it is very strong on the method and procedure for appointment and as we noted that method and procedure was followed closely and beneficially. With regard to supervision, "the Patrons of the School and Minister of the Parish and such as they shall call for their assistance" were meant to visit the school twice /

twice a year. If these visits took place, they were not recorded. With regard to salary and fees, the provision at Jedburgh was perfectly satisfactory, if not at times very generous, but any interest or concern with these matters is not evident from the records. If one limited one's search to the minutes, one would find no discussion or record of decision about salary or fees, so that one could conclude that there was no interest or concern. Furthermore, analysis of one issue in isolation can lead to misleading conclusions. On salary the heritors and council gave no more after 1803 than they did in 1704, but when one takes account of the pension given to Brewster one can see that the public funding necessary was raised, after 1803, from £42 to £67, and that that sum was maintained after Brewster's death.

The public disputes with regard to the Grammar School were to do with buildings. The provision of a "commodious house for a school" of the 1696 Act was to be the responsibility of whom? The 1656 contract said nothing on that. The 1740s case outlined earlier showed that the council wished to replace the Grammar School, recognised it as a parish school and sought the heritors' assistance. The heritors claimed the building was the council's responsibility. The two sides were brought together by the Commissioners of Supply and the result was that both were responsible and it looks as though the old division was continued, one third to town, two thirds to heritors, as previously operated for house-rent and with regard to the manse, etc.

One can only speculate about the heritors' reluctance to follow previous practice. It may be that they were loath to expend sums of money for the town's benefit rather than that of the landward parish /

parish and there may have been an element of distrust of the town council's policy and its history of instability. When in 1751 the council was again faced with the problem of the Grammar schoolhouse, it bought a house and let it to the master for the sum the council was accustomed to pay in house-rent. This action appears to have been done independently of the heritors. The council recognised the need; a new school would be good for the town and not just for the children. The solution required of them a capital sum (£62) for a house and relieved them of an annual burden.

The council action was consistent with other activities at the time: the establishment of a bowling green, the provision of fire-fighting equipment and regulations controlling candle-makers, replacing the weather-cock "for the intelligence of the weather". But by 1754 the council was in financial bother and borrowing money. It is not that the heritors were without a social conscience or that they were blind to the need for social amenities. Indeed in 1751 they were considering the need for a poor house, but they decided first to find out if they might not have a county poor house based in Jedburgh. It may be, therefore, that the social priorities of the two groups were not the same, but it is more likely that the heritors were more sensitive about expenditure because the money they spent was their money.

By 1779 when the new Grammar School was built, the heritors were arguing for the previous proportions of the cost, but the town said that all should pay according to their valuation irrespective of what happened before. Obviously the valuation of the landward part of the parish was now above two thirds. The outcome was that the cost be shared as before and the heritors had also ascertained that /

that they were not responsible for providing a dwelling house though they did give rent in lieu without its being a precedent. Again in 1804 the heritors forced the council to agree to the old proportions.

In 1762 the heritors and council came to another agreement that in future five members of the council would be present at the heritors' meeting and that the council would pay one third of heritors' expenses. The 1656 contract, therefore, had been augmented so that the financial matters were settled.

Jedburgh Grammar School was, therefore, the joint responsibility of council and heritors. Both were equally involved in the election of staff, the heritors paid twice the contribution of the council towards the buildings, yet the town paid a greater proportion of the salary, seventy two per cent in 1704, eighty per cent in 1804.

The management was made clear by the 1656 contract and its omissions were remedied by the 1762 agreement. It would appear that standards were maintained when there was agreement or obligation and that circumstances outside Jedburgh appeared to play little part.

After the appointment, the participation of the minister and the session in the affairs of the Grammar School was limited. The doctor was the session clerk and the minister had the obligation to visit the school twice a year, but that appears to be all.

One difficulty remaining concerns the session's financial support of the Grammar School. In 1692 the salary was given as three hundred and fifty merks and Grant (1876) quotes that three hundred and fifty /

1644

fifty merks from 1649 when it included thirty merks from the session and fifty merks from a mortification. Indeed the thirty merks goes back to 1625. Following from the earlier examination of mortifications, we saw that the session in the eighteenth century paid thirty merks out of the Yester money. However the fund only began in 1631 so that it is likely that for part at least of the seventeenth century the session paid a salary to the Grammar schoolmaster, but that by 1697 that sum was being paid out of the Yester money. The 1646 report also mentions fifty merks from a mortification. That could not refer to the Yester money because at that time the fund stood at only one thousand merks, only half of which was for the schoolmaster realising, therefore, an annual sum of twenty to twenty five merks. There is either a mistake in the 1646 report or there is a mortification which has disappeared by the eighteenth century.

The important conclusion is that, whatever happened during the seventeenth century, by 1697 the session's financial support was limited to its disbursing the interest of the Yester mortification. That in itself was not always simple as we saw in the cases of Brown and Scott.

Thus the session had little formal relationship with the Grammar School and the records show little informal contact either. Even when there was the dispute with Scott over the mortified money, there was no attempt by the session to have Scott dismissed. The Grammar School was the responsibility of council and heritors.

The English School was another matter. We noted in the section on selection and appointment that the session played a considerable role /

role in the affairs of the English School, a role not limited in the early eighteenth century to approval or examination, but included nomination. With regard to supervision, intimation was given from the pulpit about the English School exhorting parents to send their children, e.g. in 1699 and 1702. In 1705 a committee of the session, including the master of the Grammar School, visited the English School "as to the scholars their proficiencie" (CH2/552/5).

The session was even concerned with the building of the English School in 1702. It approved the plans, made a contribution from the mortified money towards the cost, and, as we saw in the section on buildings, was at pains to have on record its participation. Again we noted earlier the use that the session made of the mortified money as "salary" for the English master between 1697 and 1710. Furthermore in 1702 the landward elders were to give sixpence per week for the English School from their collections and in 1710 the session pledged itself to have two special collections each year "for encouragement of a pretty man to be maister".

In 1710 the session and magistrates had met to consider the English School. It was probably in 1710 that the mortified money returned to the Grammar schoolmaster and by 1716 the council was giving the English schoolmaster a salary of £4 per annum. There is a very strong impression from the records that at the turn of the century the session was pressing hard for the encouragement of the English School, using what resources it had, and committing the council to lend its support. As the century progressed the role of the session was less central, but we noted that at the time of the Boston secession /

secession the session's influence over the English School was still strong enough to make Chisholm resign. Its concern for the welfare of the schoolmasters did not dissipate either as we noted the payment of half a crown to William Rutherford in 1720 "his family being in distress" and another half a crown in 1767 to "the burgh schoolmaster whose family is in want" (CH2/553/17). Whether the session drew back or was eased out by the council we cannot tell, but certainly the 'managerial' role played by the session was later exercised by the council.

As a burgh of barony, Hawick does not feature in Grant (1876), but its Government and powers were very similar to its Royal neighbour. The role of the council in the educational provision was much less however. There was no financial provision from the council prior to 1703 and the church served as the school. The heritors may have contributed to a salary before that, but how much and for how long is unclear. The Grammar schoolmaster was nominated by the Buccleuchs. Community participation was defined in the Orrock deed and was limited to an examination of the nominee by the residing heritors and the ministers, or if there was a delay, for the residing heritors to nominate someone to be examined by the ministers and elders. There was no part to be played by the council.

The Orrock fund built the Grammar School and the heritors maintained it thereafter. The English School appears to have been supported by the council and session up to about 1718 and after that the house rent was paid by the council as was the new building in 1739. After the flood of 1767 house rent was paid jointly by council and heritors.

Of the public salary, one fifth was paid by the council and the remainder by the heritors and that salary was transferred in 1775 from the Grammar schoolmaster to the English schoolmaster, but at whose instigation we don't know.

Law (1965, p.220) attacks the view that parish schools alone represent the Scottish tradition; "they were not the only schools in eighteenth century Scotland, nor at that time perhaps the most influential schools". A parallel system in the burghs of Grammar Schools and English schools was also "typically Scottish" and perhaps a more likely source for the modern system of primary and secondary schooling. His research enriching the invaluable facts presented by Grant (1876) is supported by Bain (1965, p.133) who concludes at one stage: "Finally the schools remained in all respects subject to the authority of the Council: they were the Burgh Schools". Burgh Schools are, therefore, viewed as distinctive from parochial schools and lead general historians like Smout (1972, p.438) to say that burgh schools "were almost invariably under the direct control of town council, and supported by the funds of the council, so that the Church had little say in how they were run".

What then of the schools discussed in this Chapter? They appear under the heading of Burgh Schools, but we have noticed that the sessions had more than a little say about the English Schools in both burghs at the beginning of our period and there was even a defined secondary role with regard to Hawick Grammar School. Jedburgh Grammar School is already regarded as an amalgam, a burgh and parochial school, but Hawick Grammar School had no council participation beyond the contribution to the parochial salary /

salary which was received by the grammar schoolmaster from 1710 to 1775. One cannot, however, conclude that after 1775 the Hawick Grammar School was a private institution because the maintenance was still undertaken by the heritors. Perhaps it should be a parochial and private school. Putting on one side the role of the session, Jedburgh English School was probably the closest to the description of a burgh school as described above in that it was a council school and yet Smout (1972, p.438) implies that burgh schools always taught Latin. Disregarding that last criterion we might describe Hawick English School at the end of the century as a burgh and parochial school.

The conclusion that one must come to from looking at Jedburgh and Hawick is that one cannot make a strict dividing line between burgh and parochial. These two burghs in Roxburghshire show differences between each other and there are significant changes in the management and distinguishing features of each school within the period, so that one cannot even make many assumptions about a 'burgh school'. The Selkirk salary was paid half by heritors and half by council (Sharpe, n.d.) so that this blurring of boundaries may be a feature of the Borders, but certainly one has to be very cautious about applying "labels".

Chapter Four

Parish Schools

4(i) Preliminary

This section deals with the parishes in the Presbytery of Jedburgh other than Hawick and Jedburgh, the two parishes including burghs. For the ordinary country parish, the Act of 1696 was quite clear. It was the heritors' duty to pay the parochial schoolmaster one to two hundred merks and provide a "commodious house for a school". The appointment was to be made "by advice of the heritors and minister". The presbytery was authorised to ensure that that was carried out.

The General Assembly made various efforts to encourage the implementation of the 1696 Act. For example, a general recommendation was made to synods in 1699; in 1707 presbyteries were asked to report on schools; in 1719 presbyteries were given a detailed account of how to proceed in defaulting parishes. The Synod of Merse and Teviotdale has records from 1708 and in that first year the presbytery reports are given. The Jedburgh report was that there was a school in every parish, except one new parish, but that some were without legal maintenance. That "one new parish" cannot be identified. All the parishes belonging to Jedburgh Presbytery at 1708 were in existence twenty five years earlier. Hassendean had been split between Wilton and Minto about 1690 so that certainly Wilton and Minto had changed, but could not be "new". Abbotrule was a pendicle of Bedrule, but nonetheless it had its own minister from 1591 to 1785 so that it could not really be described /

described as "new" either.

In 1714 the Synod exhorted further action from the presbyteries and this seems to have been more rigorously followed. The presbytery noted agreement to follow the Synod's request for a school in every parish with "competent maintenance". The Jacobite Rebellion delayed the reports throughout 1715, 1716 and 1717, but in 1718 the Synod received the report from the Jedburgh Presbytery that there were nine parishes without legal maintenance so that a committee was established to meet the Commissioners of Supply. A General Assembly record (CH1/2/105) lists eleven parishes at this stage where there was "no school settled nor house built for the schoolmaster". Discounting Hawick and Jedburgh, that means that there were only either two or four of the rural parishes legally maintained prior to the approach to the Commissioners in 1718. Later discussions of salary will show that in the main the minimum provision was settled by 1720, but there was more dispute about the provision of the schoolhouse.

In 1720 the Presbytery, following a Synod recommendation, called all schoolmasters to come to 'subscribe the Confession of Faith and the formula'. Only two parishes were not represented, Eckford and Southdean. This, in fact, shows that, as the 1708 return to the Synod stated, most parishes were supplied with schoolmasters even if they were not on legal salaries.

The current research has not attempted to cover seventeenth century records apart from those of the 1690s, but there is evidence of schoolmasters prior to 1696 in all but six parishes; three of these have references before 1700, two probably by 1708, and only one first /

first appears at 1720. Foster (1975, pp.196-7) has examined the seventeenth century presbytery records for Jedburgh and concluded that at least seven parishes had schools before 1638.

It has rightly been argued (Withrington, 1970 (i), p.214) that one must not assume that no evidence means no school and that it is possible for full session records to make no reference to a satisfactory schoolmaster. However this study has shown that full records generally allow a continuous thread to be created, while patchy records give patchy evidence. Invaluable supporting evidence has often come from estate papers, particularly those of the Buccleuch family. For example, Minto has no parish records and the principal heritor has no useful papers for the period. Yet by taking the occasional presbytery references and the Buccleuch papers one can build a reasonable picture for the parish. Abbotrule, on the other hand, has no local records, no estate papers, so that we know little about what happened there. Southdean has no records until 1770 so that up till then there are only occasional references. Appendix Three lists the names of schoolmasters with the dates that we know and without making assumptions beyond these dates. There is, however, still an assumption within the dates, that the schoolmaster was continuously in post. The research showed that caution is very necessary because Bedrule's schoolmaster between 1717 and 1733 was called James Turnbull, but it was revealed that there were two James Turnbolls.

Following Chapter 3, the parish schools will be examined with regard to the selection and appointment of the schoolmasters, their income, what was taught and where. The results should go some way towards /

towards an answer to Ferguson (1978, p.198): "few subjects in the history of Scotland remain so ill understood as the state of her schools in the eighteenth century". Certainly there should be some qualification of the older view expressed by Kerr (1910, pp.198-9): "there are few things in the history of education more admirable or more astonishing than the results that followed from the co-operation between minister and teacher at this time [1696-1872]. The teacher was elected by the heritors and minister of the parish, and, after swearing allegiance to the Sovereign, had to satisfy the Presbytery as to his ability and character. He was required to sign the Confession of Faith, and the minister was appointed superintendent of the school. The Presbytery had a right of visitation which they exercised up to the passing of the Act of 1872. Strengthened by this moral support, and in many cases by pecuniary help from the minister's scanty enough stipend, the teacher toiled on for a salary little better than that of a day-labourer, lived in a scandalously insufficient house, taught in a building or shed whose only characteristic of a school was often simply shelter from rain, and sometimes not even that. But the work went on with more or less success, and not seldom so well that boys of promise entered the university, carried off bursaries, and rose to positions of commercial or professional respectability and even eminence."

4(ii) Selection and Appointment

The role of the presbytery was extremely important in the induction of a schoolmaster. The legal position was given in the 1696 Act with regard to the settling of schools and salaries. Its powers of supervision and examination were vested in the Act for Securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Church Government which accompanied the Act of Union in 1707. A later Chapter will look at the presbytery's role in more detail. Here we are concerned with the part played by the parish authorities, the session and heritors.

Subject to presbyterial examination and the signing of the Confession of Faith, the schoolmaster was, according to law, appointed by the heritors and the minister at a duly appointed meeting. How they arrived at their choice was not laid down; whether there was the nomination of a single name, and who nominated, or whether there were several candidates with some selection procedure. Traditionally "as the schoolmaster was usually appointed session clerk and precentor the Church sessions were involved" (Boyd, 1961, p.47), although it is probably more accurate to say with Bain (nd, p.15) that the appointed schoolmaster would "in the course of time be suggested by the presbytery or the heritors to the Kirk Session as a possible clerk and precentor".

That pattern is the one closest to that found in the Roxburghshire parishes. Often the session minutes record the appointment of someone designated schoolmaster as their clerk and precentor, and indeed the heritors appoint as their clerk and poor collector the person already appointed schoolmaster. Southdean in 1772 gives a variation /

variation: the heritors and minister "being satisfied with the abilitys and qualifications of John Turnbull, son to Thomas Turnbull tenant in Woolfhoplie, and unanimously chuse him to the office of schoolmaster and presenter and the session chuse him for their clerk" (HR 191/1).

The patronage was vested in the heritors and the minister and when there was a vacancy the minister announced a meeting of heritors to select a schoolmaster. That generally was the picture, but as we noted earlier there was often overlap between heritors' and parish business. The latter looked after the business concerning the poor and those attending included heritors, tenants, elders, etc. The heritors' only meetings covered church and manse repairs. Normally the appointment of the schoolmaster was also the responsibility of the heritors' only meeting, but there is, in 1777 at Ancrum, one case when the appointment was made by the parish meeting (HR 321/2). At Eckford in 1784 the schoolmasters salary was increased apparently by the parish meeting (HR 530/1). It could be that the school affairs were, in fact, dealt with only by heritors at parish meetings, and that the minutes never adequately represented that. This would still suggest, nevertheless, a difference of emphasis, if not of importance, attached to school and to Church affairs.

Further examples of variation appear in Bedrule. In 1717 a meeting of heritors and session was called to appoint a schoolmaster. Only one heritor appeared, but letters from others were presented and an appointment was made. Why the joint meeting was called was not made explicit, but the explanation must lie in the fact that only one /

one heritor appeared. The information from the Statistical Account showed that Bedrule suffered from non-resident heritors and it is likely that the minister would take this into account. The next appointment in 1726 was also conducted by correspondence; the minister recommended, the heritors wrote in support, and the heritors "impower the session of Bedrule to call, settle and install the said John Turnbull" (OPR 782/2). Again in 1733, there was only one heritor present, but letters from others.

There is no question that the Bedrule heritors had renounced or delegated the responsibility of choosing the schoolmaster, but their contact was minimal and certainly distant. When Leyden was appointed session clerk in 1746, he was described as "the person already appointed schoolmaster by the heritors" and when he resigned in 1759 he offered his resignation to the heritors for the schoolmastership and to the session for the clerkship. The employment of the session as the executive arm of the heritors was to solve a practical problem, but it does reveal that particular circumstances, in this case absent heritors, require exceptional practices. It may or may not be connected, but Bedrule has probably the most complete record of admissions and demissions of all the rural parishes.

The swearing of allegiance and the signing of the Confession of Faith seem to have been the responsibility of the Presbytery and its diligence in these matters will be examined later. One case is of interest here. In 1726 the Hownam heritors offered the vacant post to John Young (CH2/198/36/5/I) and for eighteen years he appears to have performed satisfactorily, but in February 1744 at a parish visitation concerning the glebe there were complaints about Young /

Young that he did not attend school daily and that the children were not profiting. There were further charges of trading in corn and honey and fishing. These charges were dismissed by the presbytery, with a warning that he give no ground for future complaint.

The presbytery also noted a dispute about the accuracy of the session minutes. Young claimed that the session had ordered him to insert a note; the session and minister said they didn't. This must have been a wrangle of longstanding because Young appears to have been removed from the clerkship at least by 1741.

Lastly the presbytery had enquired about Young's not attending church and he admitted that he didn't always do so, but he "had no thought of being called to an account at that time" so he was given time to hand in reasons. His explanation was that he had joined in communion with a society he found "more agreeable to the Christian Institution". (This is likely to have been the first Secession, because of the date, but that is not confirmed.)

This admission led the presbytery to press him to reconcile that belief with his adherence to the Confession of Faith and the formula. He then claimed that he had never signed, nor been tried by the presbytery, though he had once attended "for their approbation as he supposed", and certainly no record of his signing could be found. The legality of Young's tenure of the schoolmastership was then brought into question. To prove that he was legally appointed, Young produced what he termed a 'call from the heritors' which the presbytery found to be invalid in that it did not appear to be the deed of a 'constitute meeting'. Another paper /

paper was presented to the presbytery as a corroboration of the said call, which was from a proper meeting of heritors, but still the presbytery were not satisfied and asked for a new election, declaring the parish vacant on 23 September 1744. (CH2/265/3).

It was against this decision that Young appealed to the Synod where his appeal was considered in October. The Synod heard Young's case then broke up for the day, appointing a committee to meet Young in the evening. Next day the committee reported that Young was willing to sign and declare that he was "not inclined to leave the communion of the church". He signed and was reponed to the office of schoolmaster. The presbytery was also recommended to strengthen the hands of the Hownam minister in the exercise of his ministry and that they should enquire into the future conduct of Young.

In February 1745 the session decided to draw up a complaint to the presbytery that, although Young had been charged "to use no Schismatick Courses", he had disregarded the instruction.

The March meeting of the Presbytery heard of the Synod's re-instatement of Young along with the new petition from the session so it passed the matter back to the Synod. Young did not appear before the Synod in April, but presented a letter of excuse. The Synod's solution was to order the session to cite Young and witnesses to appear before the Presbytery. At the May meeting of the presbytery they sacked him again reporting to the October Synod that "they had obtemperate the appointment of the Synod with reference to Young and found the charge against him evident and in consequence thereof had deposed him from being schoolmaster of Hownam" (CH2/265/3).

Young /

Young again was going to appeal to the Synod against the Presbytery's decision, but as he did not appear in person his appeal was invalid. This time Young stayed sacked and later in 1747 the session recorded that Young "confessed himself guilty of the sin of fornication with Jean Smith" (CH2/666/1).

The Young case has wider implications, to be discussed later, but, within the arguments, the legal status of the schoolmaster was brought into question. Firstly, Young was not legally appointed because there hadn't been a proper meeting of heritors, but, when that was clarified, the next criterion was the signing of the Confession. Young signed so there was no bar to his re-instatement. The formal signing etc., was, therefore, considered a legal requirement of a properly appointed schoolmaster, but it was obviously not rigorously undertaken upon appointment and in this case was only introduced as a technicality.

After the Young affair, the Hownam session noted that "this place has been long at a loss for want of a publick schoolmaster", but, "God in his providence has been pleased to provide us with a schoolmaster". Most parishes were not supplied with such authority, but the key figure was generally the minister who brought forward candidates for the consideration of the heritors. There was always the formal announcement from the pulpit of the special meeting so that the whole parish was made aware of the vacancy, but it was not until the 1790s that advertising in newspapers took place for the rural parishes. Wilton took space in a paper in 1792 (HR390/2), and Kirkton in 1797 and 1799. The first Kirkton advertisement was introduced because only one candidate had come forward under the old method. The 1799 advertisement appeared /

appeared on page one of the "Kelso Mail" under a "Schoolmaster Wanted" heading; the candidates were required to be "qualified to teach English, writing and arithmetic and they had to produce proper certificates of their character".

The use of advertising did not lead to an increase in the number of candidates. The information about selection and appointment is mainly from the second half of the century, but there were, for example, five candidates examined at Hobkirk in 1750 and three at Bedrule in 1759. Similarly there is no evidence that the method of bringing forward only one name disappeared as the century progressed. As the one name earlier was the nomination of the minister, or the patron, and carried that authority, so later in the century, the one name was often supported by more external recommendations, e.g., the "proper certificates of their character" as in the Kirkton advertisement.

The main recommendation, however, was very often in favour of the person already teaching. There are five examples from 1780 onwards of acting schoolmasters being appointed; the only earlier example, Southdean 1751, having some additional exceptional features. Of these five, one had been the assistant for the previous three years, one had been joint schoolmaster for the previous year, and three had been acting schoolmasters after the death or removal of the former masters. Thus while in some parishes the procedure was more open with a choice of candidates and latterly with advertising, in others it looked as if it was becoming less rigorous, in that the prior selection of the person to the temporary post was more informal, possibly casual, and certainly unrecorded. It is possible that some of these cases represent temporary appointments for /

for a trial period, as we shall note later.

A sole nominee was, nonetheless, still as likely to be thoroughly examined. In 1782 at Crailing the school was declared vacant and Robert Aitken offered himself, stated he was willing to undergo an examination and take the Confession. He was examined in "spelling and reading English, the rules and methods of teaching English Grammar" and "common and fractional Arithmetic". He was also asked to teach church music to such of his scholars as were of proper age and showed capacity for it and to give books at a reasonable price to those who were to learn it. He was approved.

At Southdean in 1797 the assistant schoolmaster was appointed as he had earlier in the year been examined and found satisfactory by the presbytery at a parish visitation and his pupils had been examined "in the different branches of education" and "found in great forwardness". At Eckford in 1798, the acting master was appointed "having received a proper recommendation subscribed by two neighbouring clergymen attesting the qualification of forsaid Robert Rutherford and approving his method of teaching and having also examined part of the youth attending the school".

The presbytery was called in at times when there were a number of candidates. At Kirkton in 1761, two candidates were examined in "reading, writing, arithmetic, sylabing" and a specimen of writing had to be produced in the prescence of the ministers and heritors. One of the candidates was also examined in church music, but the other (who was unsuccessful) declined.

As the century progressed the presbytery, or even a committee, was less /

less requested and if there was involvement by the clergy it was more as individuals as in Eckford in 1798, referred to above, or in 1785 at Wilton when the neighbouring ministers were introduced as external examiners. Even more interesting is the move that can be identified from using the clergy as the examiners to inviting outsiders. At Kirkton in 1786 the sole candidate was examined by two men acting for heritors, but in Wilton in 1792 there were two impartial examiners, a Mr Huggan from Selkirk and James Inglis, Hawick English schoomaster, and they were to meet "at the Tower Inn Hawick and to be allowed one guinea each for their trouble".

The heritors were still the responsible body, and earlier in the century they kept the choice to themselves even although this could cause difficulty. At Hownam in 1762, the heritors decided "to proceed in a comparative trial of any candidate that may appear". Three weeks later four candidates appeared: Alexander Vert, schoolmaster of Linton, William Scott from Roberton, John Davidson from Jedburgh and William Hall from Hownam. The meeting with five heritors present decided that they were unable to choose as the candidates were unknown to them. They felt that the presbytery should hear the candidates according to the Act of 1693. The following month, August, the candidates reappeared, except Vert, gave in a specimen of their writing and were tried in Arithmetic, reading English and church music by the heritors without the assistance of the presbytery. There is no explanation for the non-involvement of the presbytery, but it is interesting that the problem was that the candidates were unknown.

Even the presence of several candidates did not prevent the influence /

influence of major heritors. At Bedrule in 1759 there were three candidates. A Dr Rutherford appeared for the Marquis of Lothian and for another major heritor and his vote went to James Ker. The other heritor present "does not choose to vote at this time and Mr Dickson (the minister) does not incline to meddle in the present circumstances". (CH2/198/36/6/11). Unfortunately we don't know what the 'present circumstances' were.

Lastly there is one case to show that even the heritors could themselves be put under pressure. At Eckford in 1767, three candidates were considered for the vacancy: Richard Rutherford, John Rutherford and Robert Balmer. The two Rutherfords didn't appear as they felt that there was a 'combination' in favour of Balmer. Indeed there was a petition from five elders and many heads of families wanting Balmer as schoolmaster. The heritors, however, felt that they were being prevented from exercising their legal right of choice, excluded Balmer from their consideration, and deferred making an appointment. Two months later they considered further applications; from Walter Scott of Hawick, Thomas Russel, late schoolmaster at Birgham, Robert Stewart, schoolmaster at Carlanrig, and Richard Rutherford late at Dolphinston and now living at Fairniehurst. All were examined by minister and heritors on reading English, both prose and verse, spelling, writing, and arithmetic. All were deemed suitably qualified and Richard Rutherford was chosen.

Generally there was little evidence about the form of any examination, but the election at Hobkirk in 1750 is worthy of attention. Five candidates were called in separately and examined in "their skill in Reading and their method of Teatching and afterward to satisfy /

satisfy the meeting in their skill in Writing and Orthography. They shall give specimens of their Copyhand in their presence and of their Current hand by writing out what shall be dictated to them and for trial of their Arithmetick they shall work such Questions as shall be proposed to them." After putting the candidates through these hurdles, the meeting decided on a further trial: each to have one week teaching and singing on the Sunday for a fee of three shillings. In January, one candidate, Runchman, was not paid so one can presume that he didn't stay for his week's trial. The meeting did agree on William Armstrong, but "for one year only" for which he would receive the legal salary and the other emoluments.

That represents a fairly rigorous and novel selection procedure. It is very interesting that there should be the practical examination, the professional examination, because that is what appears to be the trend towards the end of the century. The heritors were more concerned with proven evidence of a candidate's character; presbyterial examination being overtaken by a testimonial. They wanted to know the candidate; hence perhaps the number of acting masters given tenure. There was a much greater interest in teaching ability so that testimonials covered that aspect as well as character. And lastly, there was the introduction of the external examiners. It is not the intention to argue that this has led to an improvement in the quality of the parish teacher throughout the century. Indeed there is some evidence, discussed in the next chapter, to show the opposite. What the trend does seem to indicate is an increasing secularisation of education and this too will be discussed more fully when examining the role of the presbytery.

The Hobkirk example of 1750 included a probationary period of one year /

year for the successful candidate. There is no evidence of the contract being renewed or extended, but the master held the post for fifty eight years. The brothers Aitken were appointed for a year at Crailing in 1781, but, unless one includes the incidence of acting masters, the only other example was at Wilton in 1756.

"The meeting having examined candidates for the publick school, Thomas Wilson and Samuel Irwin, in the several parts of literature proper for the education of children in the parish, and after tryal judged Samuel Irwin the best qualified for teaching the said school and having called him in proposed to him that as the Heritors' servant he should teach the public school for an year from this date and for which he is to have title to all school wages and enter into possession of the schoolmaster's dwelling at Whitsun."

Irwin was an interim schoolmaster; he took over the duties, but not the title. In fact the minutes of the previous meeting of heritors make it clear that they were not going to appoint a legal schoolmaster but merely "a man qualified in capacity of a hired servant". Irwin served Wilton for over a quarter of a century and there was no formal record of a change in his employment position, but he was in 1756 appointed while his predecessor was still alive and holding the salary as a pension. It may not, therefore, be fair to generalise upon heritors' attitudes, or even Wilton heritors' attitudes, to the parochial schoolmaster from this example. Irwin seems to have taken over the permanent post on the death of the previous incumbent.

Tenure for life seems to have been the standard, but erring schoolmasters were dismissed; four in the period, two for not attending church and/or going to another church, one for drunkenness and one for /

for adultery. The impression that is given is that it was very difficult to sack a parish schoolmaster and if it happened the grounds were, then as now, not professional, but moral or contractual.

Perhaps the most surprising conclusion from this section is that nowhere was Latin seen to be a necessary qualification for these parish schoolmasters; it was, apparently, neither sought nor examined. It may be that it was an understood part of the schoolmaster's curriculum vitae and an automatic part of the school curriculum, but there is no evidence arising from the selection and appointment of the schoolmasters to lend support to that view.

4(iii) Income

a) Salary

In the preliminary section to this chapter it was noted that only one parish in the presbytery did not have a school in 1708, but that there were many without a legal salary; in 1718 the synod recorded nine out of the thirteen without legal salary, the presbytery in 1720 two out of thirteen. A General Assembly paper from a later dispute (CH1/2/105) reported that in 1720 eleven out of thirteen had no legal salary. Assuming that the General Assembly information may be a little out of date, it can be seen that the key period is 1720 when the Commissioners of Supply for Teviotdale made the general ruling that heritors should pay schoolmasters' salaries as in the 1696 Act and that these salaries should be over and above any mortifications. That decision was reported to the presbytery in August 1720 (to the synod in October), yet in February the ministers of the presbytery reported that the stent for salaries had been undertaken in all but two parishes. The ministers had, therefore, been successful in most cases in settling the legal salary prior to the decision of the Commissioners of Supply, although, because the synod had established in 1719 a committee to meet the Commissioners, a decision would have been expected. Thus although the sanctions in the 1696 Act did not need to be employed in most of the parishes, it can be argued that the threat of the sanctions was effective in bringing about the change.

That same General Assembly paper referred to above also stated that the Wilton stent for the legal salary was carried out by the Commissioners /

Commissioners of Supply in 1720 and there is a 1722 cess roll in estate papers for one hundred merks for the salary, in accord with the Commissioners' decision. (GD178/3/10). Prior to 1720 the salary had been thirty six merks (GD224/254). Wilton, therefore, would have been one of the two parishes that had not complied before the Commissioners' decision. We don't know which the second was, but this shows that the sanctions were, in fact, employed successfully in at least one out of the two outstanding parishes.

The next general review was undertaken in 1733 when the presbytery recorded three parishes without legal maintenance, but by 1749 all were properly supplied. The three parishes out of line in 1733 were Abbotrule, Ancrum and Crailing. There was a 'decret' for Abbotrule, but the schoolmaster was not in possession of the legal salary and unfortunately there is no further mention in the records. It looks as if it was a case of the reluctant heritor because the course of action adopted by the presbytery was for the minister to approach the laird of Abbotrule. At Ancrum it was made clear that there had been a legal salary (of one hundred and twenty merks in fact), but that it had "gone into disuse" and that some heritors were "not in use to pay their proportion". The matter disappeared from the records with the heritors' agreeing to hold a meeting to take the proper action.

The Crailing case was a little more complicated. In 1609 the parishes of Crailing and of Nisbet were combined and although the united parish was not large, some sixteen square miles, it was split by the River Teviot, Nisbet on one side, Crailing on the other. Apart from historical loyalties, the physical division by the river caused problems. For example, when the two parishes were united it was /

was agreed that a boat should be supplied to ferry the Nisbet folk over the river to go to Church. The boat was a central feature to the relationship between the two parts of the united parish and it formed an important part of parish business. The session bought a boat in 1749, but was to be repaid out of vacant stipends. How the boat was to be maintained was a thorny issue. The level of fee to be charged for non-churchgoing crossings had to be discussed, as had the salary, house etc. provided for the boatman. In times of shortage, the boatmen went on strike till they got their wages. Nisbet folk tended to see ^{the} boat as a parish responsibility, but the Crailing folk were not so enthusiastic. (In 1790 the boat was carried off by a sudden flood, landed downstream at Sprouston where local folk broke it up and the boatman was ordered to prosecute the people of Sprouston.)

With regard to schools, a presbyterial visitation in 1700 revealed schools in both Crailing and Nisbet. There was one heritor, the Marquis of Lothian, in Nisbet and he maintained a school there, and there was one major, Lord Cranston, and one minor heritor in Crailing. Since at least 1693 Lord Cranston had paid the Crailing schoolmaster forty merks (CH2/198/36/6/III/99) and, according to the heritors' minutes of 1758, from 1719 the Crailing schoolmaster had received the interest of one thousand five hundred merks mortified by Lord Cranston. At four and a half per cent, that interest was sixty eight merks per annum.

This, then, is the source of the confusion about the Crailing salary. Since 1719 the Crailing schoolmaster had received over the legal minimum amount, but it was not legally provided; that is, it was not paid by the heritors of the parish according to their due proportions /

proportions and it was made up partly of money from a mortification which had been ruled out by the Commissioners' decision of 1720. Thus the presbytery in 1733 was unhappy about the provision, called on the schoolmaster to lay the 'decret' before the Marquis of Lothian, but ignored the matter thereafter. Also it explains why the synod in 1749 recorded a legal salary yet the schoolmaster, two years later, appealed that he didn't have a legal salary.

In 1751 when the Crailing schoolmaster Robert Cranston was before the presbytery to sign the Confession, he complained about his salary. This complaint began fourteen years of dispute. The presbytery first checked the 'decret' on the Crailing salary and Cranston asked if the presbytery would act to have the decret implemented as he himself was loathe to deal with the heritors, "especially the two noble persons".

The following year the Marquis of Lothian, the heritor of lands in the old parish of Nisbet, denied any obligation with regard to the Crailing salary. Six months later (August 1752) he was present at the presbytery meeting, accepted his share of the salary with a condition about the siting of the new school.

Lord Cranston, however, could not accept Lothian's proposal about the the new school as it involved his (Cranston's) land. Lothian then proposed a split school: winter at Crailing, summer at Nisbet. (The existing school was at Crailing village which was a mile or so from the river on the other side of which was Nisbet. Crossing the river was the problem. Lothian's earlier proposal had suggested a new site on the Crailing side but nearer the river.)

While /

While the debate continued at the presbytery, the parish was holding a meeting to appoint a legal schoolmaster. As the records began at that stage, there was no evidence of what went before. Robert Cranston had been schoolmaster, possibly since 1740, but presumably as the salary had been deemed to be 'illegal' so was his appointment. He would have been appointed by Lord Cranston to act at Crailing village. The agent for Lothian states that he was "instructed not to meddle in that question (appointment of new schoolmaster) that Lord Marquis of Lothian was to provide the Barony of Nisbet with a schoolmaster as formerly and protested that nothing here transacted might infringe his Lordship's rights and privileges or be constructed to his Lordship's acceding upon any other footing than the schoolmasters have been formerly" (HR202/1).

Obviously Lothian was not going to give anything away at any level. However at the parish meeting Lord Cranston's agent (George Cranston) proposed Robert Cranston to be the "settled elected and chosen legal schoolmaster" of the united parish. The other heritor, very minor, James Cranston supported that proposal so it must have been adopted, but no decision was minuted. Certainly, there was no further doubt raised about Robert Cranston's not being legal parish schoolmaster.

At the presbytery it was noted that the heritors had voted for Robert Cranston, but also that Lothian and the Nisbet folk wanted to keep a schoolmaster at Nisbet. The presbytery records were checked for the original union (November 1609), but the matter fizzled out; at least there was no further record of any final judgement.

In/

In 1763 Robert Cranston again appealed to the presbytery that he had not received the legal salary because of the Marquis of Lothian's acts. The presbytery accepted the complaint and forwarded it to the Church Procurator. Cranston also complained that the school buildings were in "a runious condition". The following month, October, a proposal was put to the parish by Lothian's agent, that the two schools should be united and new premises built at the new church (which was out of Crailing village and nearer the river). Lord Cranston agreed to this. The heritors were to buy ground from him, the old school was to belong to him, the new school and garden were to be paid by all heritors and a proper salary to be settled on the new schoolmaster.

A solution seemed nigh. The Marquis indicated that the best way to effect the above was to suppress the two schools, erect a new one to be the parish school of the united parishes on ground to be bought from Lord Cranston (two valuers, one for Lord Cranston, one for the other heritors), the heritors to pay for the new school, Robert Cranston to be schoolmaster, the Marquis to have no claim to the old school.

The sole issue outstanding was again salary - where it all started! Lord Cranston proposed that the Commissioners of Supply should decide on the figure. Lothian delayed, but his position at the presbytery was still firmly against supporting a schoolmaster at Crailing village.

In December 1764 Lothian suggested a salary of £100 Scots with condition that ^{the} schoolmaster supported an assistant at Nisbet at a salary /

salary of fifty merks per annum. The assistant was to be named by heritors and minister, to be given house by Lothian, but maintained by all heritors, and to receive all emoluments formerly given to the schoolmaster of Nisbet. This time it was Lord Cranston's turn to delay as there were too many new issues in Lothian's proposal.

The minister then proposed two schools, salaries as suggested, Crailing school to be supported by heritors of united parish, Nisbet school to be maintained by Nisbet heritors. Robert Cranston said that if minister's proposal was passed, he would drop his claim for bygone salaries. The issue was forced to a vote, though Lord Cranston claimed that no vote would bind him, and the minister's plan was agreed. A vital factor in the settlement was a change in the distribution of power. In 1763 the Marquis of Lothian produced an act from the Commissioners of Supply to verify that one John Riccaltone was a heritor; Lothian had given him a bit of ground in Nisbet. He was clearly 'promoted' by Lothian to level the sides; each major heritor now had a supporter and it meant that the minister held the balance.

The presbytery was informed of the decision in January 1765 and the matter appeared to have been settled, but not without further objections from Lord Cranston. He formally objected to the December decision in the March of the following year. He was unable to burden his estate with anything more and that was the base of his objection. He claimed that

- (i) the heritors didn't take proper steps when heritors don't agree, i.e. go to Commissioners of Supply,
- (ii) the salary was above the minimum legally required and could /

- could not, therefore, be given without consent of all heritors,
- (iii) two schools meant burdens later of maintenance and the decision could not be binding upon heirs
 - (iv) the only legal obligation was to keep one parish school, schoolmaster, etc., and school had to be at the place "where it has formerly been in use to be kept and children taught especially when that was the most populous part of the parish", except when there was a mortification and the donor could do what he liked,
 - (v) heritors said nothing of a house for the schoolmaster at Crailing.

He concluded that the decisions made were illegal and informal. In addition he claimed that the heritors didn't vote unanimously to suppress the schools and that this was just a ploy to deprive Robert Cranston of his right to bygone salary.

Lord Cranston continued a rearguard action, but to no avail. The other heritors wanted decisions and were prepared to act with the minister as a majority. By 1766 Lord Cranston was in financial trouble; the session was chasing him for money and a few years later the Crailing estate was in other hands.

The Crailing Affair is interesting for a variety of reasons. It throws much light on the problems of the uniting of parishes. It shows the importance of the boat on the river. It illustrates some of the tactics employed by heritors in such disputes. It displays the power and influence of the personality of a major figure; Lothian was President of the SSPCK at this time (from 1738 to 1767, but never present after 1754, GD95/1/4 and 5), prominent in public, national and local affairs (provost of Jedburgh in 1730s and 1740s) and /

174

and able to maintain a defence against all the local authorities. The part of the presbytery will be examined later, but the result with regard to salary was that after 1764 the parish schoolmaster was to receive a salary of one hundred and fifty merks, fifty of which were to go to an assistant at Nisbet.

The legal salary as laid down in the 1696 Act became a matter of importance in the Presbytery of Jedburgh only after 1715. Then the legal provision was fairly quickly and easily established. Why there was such a delay is difficult to understand because the information about the lack of provision was available. For example, it is minuted in the presbytery records that Abbotrule (1700) and Bedrule (1703) had only winter schools and that the Abbotrule salary "conforme to the ability of the paroch" and that Bedrule had a competent salary "considering the place". These statements suggest standards other than those of the Act.

Throughout the remainder of the century there were, as can be seen on Figure Nine, only four parishes that appear to have increased the basic salary. The replies to the sheriffs (PP1826) have been used to fill gaps in the local records. In one case, Oxnam, the answers stated an increase to one hundred and fifty merks in 1783, but the minister in the Statistical Account clearly gave the salary as the minimum and indeed commented that it should be increased. The Southdean minister gave the salary as one hundred and fifty seven merks and this is probably because the basic Southdean salary had been augmented by part of the former Abbotrule salary after it was annexed. Hobkirk, the other parish expanded by the annexation, should probably have a salary of one hundred and forty three merks, but there is no confirmation of that.

Figure 9 Parish School Salaries

	1720		1803
Abbotrule	100m	annexed	
Ancrum	120m	150m 1780s	400m
Bedrule	100m		350m
Cavers	100m		300m
Crailing	100m 1764		350m
Eckford	100m	150m 1786	400m
Hobkirk	100m 1726		400m
Hownam	100m	150m 1785	300m
Kirkton	100m		300m
Minto	100m		400m
Oxnam	100m		400m
Southdean	100m	157m O.S.A.	350m
Wilton	100m	180m 1792	400m

Finally there are listed the salaries after the 1803 settlement and it can be seen that the schoolmasters fared better then than they might reasonably have expected. Six of the twelve received the new maximum of four hundred merks, and only three the minimum.

Modern historians are now confident in their assertion that the parishes of the Scottish Lowlands were likely to have had a school in the 1690s. Withrington (1965, p.129) reviewing the Lothians, Fife and Angus, states that "nearly ninety per cent of all the parishes in these counties are known to have had schools of some kind" and Bain (1965, p.99) writes "with assurance" that "every parish in the Stirlingshire of 1696 had had a school at some period of its history". Such studies allow Smout (1972, p.425) to conclude "there is every reason to believe that in those areas where virtually complete coverage had not been achieved by 1700 it had come about by 1760". Confirmation continues to come in; Elliot (1977, pp.58-9) reveals that only three Berwickshire parishes did not /

not have schools at 1700.

Less confidence surrounds the issue of regular salary, or even legal salary. Harding (1975, pp.258-9) finds that two thirds of the parishes of the Presbytery of Perth had legal salaries in 1707, but that is not the general picture. Bain (1965, p.100) notes that "it would seem reasonable to conclude that in Stirlingshire by 1760, at least half - and perhaps nearly all - of the parishes had some salaried provision made for a schoolmaster, although not all of these salaries were by any means legal in amount or in source". Simpson (1947, pp.108-110) discovered that there were no legal salaries in Alford Presbytery in 1710 and still some without in 1757, that Garioch Presbytery had no legal salaries in 1762, that Aberdeen Presbytery had only four in 1762 and still lacked four twenty years later.

If one agrees with Elliot (1976, p.224) that by the 1660s "it was the absence of a schoolmaster, not his presence, that was noteworthy", then by the 1760s it would be the absence of the legal salary which was the point of importance, at least in the Lowlands. Simpson notes the difference between establishing the principle of legal salaries and obtaining them and that same point was made by Beale (1983, p.129) who observes that (in the eighteenth century) the problems in getting and making an allowance for the schoolmaster were not as great as the problems of getting all heritors to pay.

Apart from the difficulties in collecting the salary, its amount became a significant issue as the century progressed. Scotland (1969, p.124) gives the average salary at the 1790s as just over one /

one hundred and fifty merks, but there was much contemporary discontent that seems to have reached its most concerted pitch in the 1780s when an unsuccessful approach was made to Parliament, the flavour of which can be seen in Fraser's "Memorial for the Parochial Schoolmasters in Scotland" published in volume twenty one of the Statistical Account. At least one Roxburghshire parish withheld consideration of salary in 1784 until the result of the approach to Parliament was known, Eckford (HR530/1). The ministers in the Statistical Account were strong in their support of the teachers' case. For example, the Bedrule minister described the minimum legal salary as "a sorry pittance indeed". The increase at 1803 was not before time.

There had been some improvement between 1696 and 1803. Boyd (1961, p.61) noted that by the 1790s "quite a number of parishes had recognised the fall in money values by paying the master in pounds Scots instead of merks".

In the light of the still disputed results of the 1696 Act it is interesting that the 1803 Act brought about an immediate response. Simpson (1947, p.112) noted that "in most parishes the Act (of 1803) was obeyed far more promptly than previous Acts had been".

Against this backcloth the parishes of the Presbytery of Jedburgh are not outstanding. The mechanisms contained in the 1696 Act needed to be operated to ensure legal salaries, but once that had happened the system appears to have worked smoothly as far as salaries are concerned. In only one case did the Commissioners have to act in place of the heritors and with few exceptions the heritors regularly fulfilled their obligations. Some salaries were /

were increased on the scale referred to by Boyd, but the principal change had to await the 1803 Act when the salary matter was speedily discussed and generously settled, more generously than is suggested by Smout (1972, p.431): "by the Act of 1803 their condition [the schoolmasters'] was only slightly improved".

4(iii)b Mortifications

Mortified money is mentioned in four parishes: Crailing, Hobkirk, Oxnam and Southdean. The last can be disposed of briefly. In 1798 the minister represented to the heritors that the mortified sum of £50 was for the education of the poor, that the schoolmaster should have the use of the interest, but that it had been used more generally to defray the expense of supporting the poor. It would appear that the new schoolmaster had been checking the small print. However, he left two years later and at that time the heritors were trying to reclaim the interest. As the mortification had never been mentioned before or after, the explanation must be that the money was not, in fact, intended for the schoolmaster, that he had wrongly claimed it and that the heritors sought its return once the error was discovered.

Lady Yester who left money in the seventeenth century for the benefit of the Jedburgh schoolmaster did the same for Hobkirk and Oxnam. The Oxnam sum was £2000 Scots at five per cent, half the interest of which was the schoolmaster's and half for the poor, according to a presbytery report in 1777 (CH2/198/14). There is a record of interest being paid in 1699 and at intervals thereafter. The sum acknowledged from 1727 into the nineteenth century (e.g. PP 1826) is £50 Scots or £4.3.4, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century the schoolmaster was receiving £55 Scots (CH2/1232/2). He, in fact, was awarded £120 Scots to cover two years, but lost £10 Scots "by act of Parliament for retention money and four shillings Scots as incident charge". There was no dispute about the sum paid so there is no explanation for the discrepancy although it is possible that the interest rate changed. The money had /

had been mortified and the schoolmaster received his dues.

Hobkirk was left only £1000 Scots by Lady Yester at four and a half per cent, half for the poor, half for the schoolmaster (CH2/198/14). Again there is a discrepancy about the amount of interest which probably indicates a changed rate; in nineteenth century the schoolmaster received £1.13.4, or £20 Scots (PP 1826), but in the 1720s the sum received was £25 Scots (OPR 790/1).

The one problem in connection with the mortification at Hobkirk was discovered by a presbyterial visitation in 1726 when it was revealed that the salary received by the schoolmaster included the interest from Lady Yester's money. Using the mortification to make up the legal salary was ruled out of order by the 1720 decision of the Commissioners of Supply, but as the matter never reappears one can assume that the legal salary became funded in the proper manner.

Crailing too suffered from the inclusion of mortified money in the salary, but, as we noted in the section 4(iii)a, this became part of a much wider dispute between two major heritors. It took until 1764 to settle the matter there, but the mortification issue itself was quite clear. There had been two bonds, for one thousand and for five hundred merks, dated 1719 (1709 according to PP 1841) at four and a half per cent interest (CH2/1159/3, 1758). This yielded £3.15.0 at 1758 and in the nineteenth century (PP 1826), and the schoolmaster was entitled to all of the interest.

The problem was that he didn't always get it. When the presbytery examined /

examined mortifications in 1777 the Crailing schoolmaster claimed that he had not received all of the interest since 1767, but only the interest of the five hundred merks, and the remainder had been kept by the session "in their box" (HR202/2). As usual the exact details are not recorded, but it would appear that the heritors had done their duty by settling the legal salary and were happy that the session kept the interest because that kept down the money for poor relief demanded from the heritors. It became an issue in 1777 because Lord Cranston was in dispute with the session over an outstanding debt that he was due the session. One heritor, probably Lord Cranston, was arguing that the mortification was only valid until the schoolmaster received a legal salary so that, since then, the session could be taken to have received the interest as payment of the outstanding debt. That dispute apparently went to the Court of Session. At the same time, the other schoolmaster in the parish, at Nisbet on the other side of the river, was agitating for an increased salary so that the interest of the mortified money could be seen to have a bearing on that issue also.

In 1789 the session still held the interest or part of it, because when the heritors considered the smallness of the schoolmaster's salary their solution was to ensure its augmentation by receipt of the full interest (HR202/1). Two years later the minister observed to the session that the full interest had not been given to the schoolmaster and arranged for arrears to be paid. He also recorded in the Statistical Account in that year that the schoolmaster received the full £3.15.0 and the following year had the two bonds entered on the presbytery records as they did not appear on any other public records. The slate was really set clean when the /

the daughter of the schoolmaster, Robert Cranston, who died in 1781, claimed arrears which were due to her father from 1764 to his death and, with presbytery support, she won her £33.15.0 (CH2/1159/3).

These mortifications provided substantial increases to income for the recipients. The lowest was thirty to thirty seven and a half merks, but the highest was seventy five to eighty two and a half merks; substantial when set against a salary of one hundred merks. The problem was not entitlement, however, but possession. As we have seen, the interest could take a long time in coming for various reasons, but also, as all the bonds were held by Jedburgh council, there must have been delays and disruptions caused by Jedburgh's own financial instability.

4(iii)c Fees

"Beside the stipulated salary ... the schoolmaster in virtue of his office was further entitled ... to the fees payable by the scholars. But so far as the records of Kirk Sessions go it does not seem that the payment of fees became general till about the close of last century, but the increased expenses of living compelled Kirk Sessions to charge a small fee". Wright (1898, p.150) was referring to the eighteenth century, but he must have misread his evidence entirely. He was discussing the 1803 Act so that perhaps he was misguided by the reference to fees in that Act which had not appeared in earlier ones. He may not have been too confident in his assertion, however, because he followed the quotation above with an example of fees from 1764.

Certainly in the parishes of Jedburgh Presbytery there is no evidence of a scale of fees until 1781 and it became much more common after that until 1803 when the conditions of the Act made necessary the recording of the fee scale. There are, however, frequent references prior to that to the payment of fees for poor scholars; it would be a strange system that charged fees for the poor only.

In the 1720s and 1730s the standard fee seems to have been two shillings Scots per quarter which became one shilling sterling. In 1762 the scale of fees at Crailing was later said to be one shilling, one shilling and threepence, one shilling and sixpence (PP 1826), but the first contemporary scale was one shilling and threepence, one shilling and sixpence, two shillings in 1781 at Crailing. (As in the discussion of Burgh schools, it is assumed that /

that the three sums are for one, two or three Rs.) By the 1790s the fees were one shilling to one shilling and sixpence, one shilling and sixpence to two shillings, and two shillings and sixpence. The standard, which was common in 1798 to Cavers, Kirkton, Minto, Southdean and Wilton, was one shilling and sixpence two shillings, two shillings and sixpence (HR290/2). After 1803 all the references are two shillings, two shillings and sixpence, three shillings with one exception, Hownam, giving two shillings and sixpence, three shillings, three shillings and sixpence, but that may have been an 1808 revision (PP 1826).

With regard to other subjects, Crailing in 1781 charged two shillings and sixpence for the higher branches of arithmetic, three shillings and sixpence for Latin, and for book-keeping and mensuration "the wages usually paid in this country". The Statistical Account for Oxnam said "the higher branches are taught by agreement". More details were forthcoming after 1803. Book-keeping and mensuration, land-surveying, book-keeping by single entry, and practical mathematics were each seven shillings. Book-keeping by double entry was fourteen shillings. At Southdean in 1803, single entry book-keeping was only five shillings and double entry seven shillings and sixpence. It was also the only example of a quotation for Latin, Greek and French (five shillings each), but the schoolmaster admits in the 1826 return to the Sheriff that he didn't offer Latin, nor, presumably, Greek and French.

There are obviously comments to be made about this curriculum and that will occur in a later section, but it is apparent that the parishes in this study increased the fees during the century. The fee for the three Rs went from one shilling and sixpence in the 1760s /

1760s, to two shillings in 1770s and 1780s, to two shillings and sixpence in the 1790s, to three shillings after 1803.

Knox (1953, p.9) states that the fees "rarely exceeded one shilling per quarter from each child for instruction in the three Rs", but it is more likely that the early period had a uniform fee later replaced by the scale. Boyd (1961, p.61) would support Knox that the uniform fee was probably one merk, roughly one shilling sterling, and that is the figure used in Roxburghshire in the first half of the century.

In Perthshire the fees were given as one shilling, one shilling and sixpence, two shillings in 1782 (Harding, 1975, p.487) and in Ayrshire in the 1790s, one shilling and sixpence, two shillings, two shillings and sixpence (Boyd, 1961, p.61). The averages from the Statistical Account are given by Scotland (1969, p.125) as one shilling and threepence, one shilling and ninepence, two shillings and tuppence in country parishes, but that that rose after 1803 to one shilling and sixpence, two shillings, two shillings and sixpence. Simpson (1947, p.117) gives the 1803 fee as one shilling and sixpence, two shillings and sixpence, three shillings so that the Roxburgh figures seem more in line with Perthshire, Ayrshire and Aberdeenshire than national averages.

The level of fees has been a matter of some debate. For example, Bain (1965, p.127) suggests that raising fees could lose pupils, while Simpson (1947, p.116) observes that raising fees could increase attendance. He also indicates that the slight increase in fee levels at the end of the century was not "commensurate with the steep rise in the cost of living". Withrington (1970(ii), p.175) /

p.175) claims that fees were kept low in the eighteenth century to foster universal education and to allow access by the poor. There is no evidence from the rural Roxburghshire parishes of any such control of fee levels. What evidence there is suggests a gentle increase in fees during the second half of the century when there was "the upward movement in rents and prices" (Lythe and Butt, 1975, p.103). In the century from 1696 to 1803 Roxburgh fee levels rose threefold which was the increase of the minimum salary under the 1803 Act.

At the beginning of the section it was said that information about fees in the first half of the eighteenth century was often derived from the payments to poor scholars by the session. Such payments were frequently expressed as half rate so that the normal rate can be calculated. The poor rate was sixpence generally, though some parishes, e.g. Kirkton, gave eightpence, but without stating whether or not that was half rate. The Wilton schoolmaster in 1756 was given the choice "either to have from the box eight pence sterling per quarter for each of them, or twenty shillings sterling in sum for the whole number of them per annum"; his predecessor sixty years earlier had been given a similar lump sum. The Bedrule schoolmaster was also given a lump sum at the beginning of the century, although it was only half that of Wilton; indeed in 1715 it was cut from £6 to £5.2.0 and the schoolmaster allowed to protest "when he finds occasion", but he didn't appear to 'find occasion'. That is an example of session control, at least over poor fees, but it does not advance the Withrington argument.

Later when the scale of fees became more common, it was still possible /

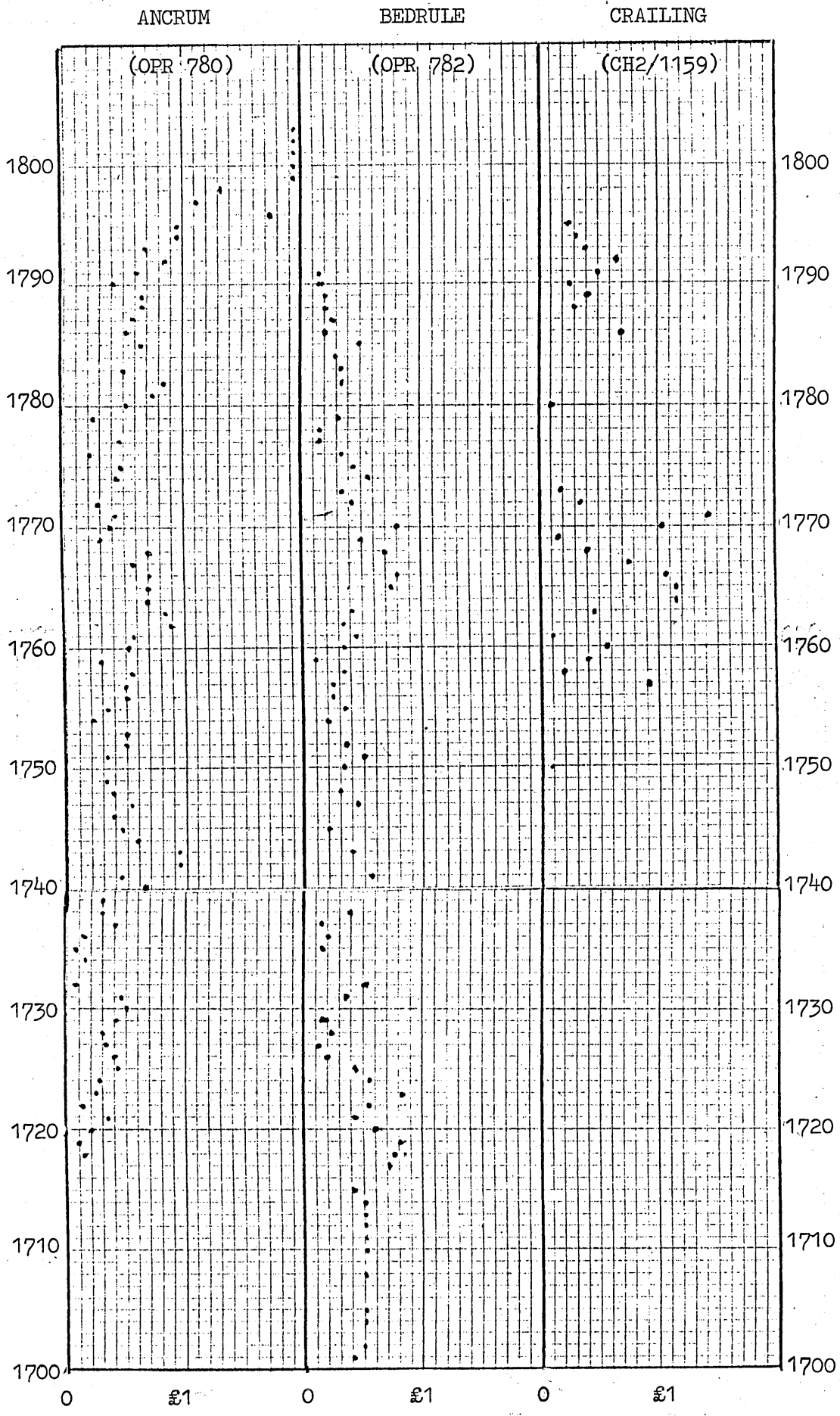
possible to find a flat rate fee for the poor scholar, one shilling for reading at Wilton in 1798, two thirds of the full rate. None of the Roxburgh parishes was as generous, however, as the Boness session which, in 1759, was giving one shilling and threepence per quarter (Bain, n.d., p.37).

Three parishes had records giving good runs of the sums paid for teaching poor scholars and these are given on Figure Ten. The intention is not to indicate levels of fees, numbers of poor, or aspects of control, or lack of it, because these amounts are 'contaminated' by various factors: the population changes, the fee increases, and the fact that two of the three parishes had second schools in the parish receiving public support. The sums depicted were received by the parochial schoolmaster and are not, therefore, the total of aid given by the parish to poor children.

It is interesting to note that whether the population went up or down, fees increased or not, the amounts gained by the schoolmasters from this source did not vary much between 1700 and 1790. One could postulate that the decrease in population was matched by an increase in fees and certainly there is evidence that depopulation was held at least in one parish, in Bedrule in 1789, to be reducing the schoolmaster's income. Alternatively one might say that as the century progressed the countryside became more prosperous so that there were fewer 'poor', but the fact remains that the parochial schoolmasters, according to these three parishes, received, on average, about ten shillings per annum between 1700 and 1790 for teaching poor scholars so that their income from that source, although quite irregular, was static.

FIGURE TEN

POOR SCHOLARS' FEES



The 1826 returns to the Sheriff (PP 1826) give two examples of the sums gained in total from fees in the period 1780 to 1803. The two parishes were Crailing and Hobkirk and the sums were £11 and £12. After 1803, these sums were up to £14.10.0 and £16 respectively. In both parishes the schoolmaster at 1826 had been appointed in the eighteenth century so that he was giving evidence from his own experience. Fee income from the other parishes ranged from £7.15.0 in Southdean to £50 in Wilton after 1803.

Thus it is clear that the increase in income from the 1803 salary change far outweighed the loss of the poor fee income even though that had advanced significantly in the late 1790s. Also while there was a real increase in income from fees between the 1780s and after 1803, it is possible that, if ordinary fee income had behaved like poor fee income throughout the eighteenth century, there would be up to the 1790s little real increase in fee income, even though the fees themselves had gone up. If the population in the rural parishes declined from a peak in the 1770s, as discussed in Chapter 2(i), then the fee increases merely allowed the income to remain level which did not help the schoolmaster's lot so that Simpson (1947, p.116) might be right to comment: "that he (the schoolmaster) did not insist on a much heavier scale of fees is a proof of his extraordinary altruism".

4(iii)d Other emoluments

Parochial schoolmasters' income was principally from salary, mortifications and pupils' fees. Their other regular source was the salary and fees arising from the other public posts generally held by the schoolmaster: session clerk, precentor, heritors' clerk and collector of the poor money. There was a great variation amongst the parishes in the salaries paid for these offices. Often indeed salaries were not paid and the reward lay in the fees collected. Generally as the century progressed salaries were introduced and existing salaries increased, but there is also evidence of keeping the basic salary low and giving occasional 'bonus' payments.

The posts of session clerk and precentor often went together, but not always. Sometimes the precentorship was tied to the schoolmaster's post and at the end of the century the issue of the precentorship became quite marked. This will be discussed later in Chapter Seven. Bedrule and Crailing introduced salaries for the session clerk in the 1750s (five shillings and £1 per annum). Crailing raised their £1 to £1.10.0 in 1790, and Bedrule the five shillings to eight shillings and eightpence in 1768. That was still the sum in 1789 when the clerk asked for "something adequate to his attendance and trouble" (OPR782/4). The session resolved to add £1 to his fee "during the session's pleasure" which must have been short-lived because there is no evidence of its being paid in the following years. Ancrum's five shillings in 1719 was increased in 1788 to sixteen shillings and eightpence. The Hownam session clerk was paid ten shillings in 1741 and that was still the /

the sum after 1803, but he received occasional payments, for example, five shillings as 'clerk to the sacrement'. Kirkton's salary was six shillings and eightpence in 1708 and still so in 1761, although he too was given an additional sum sporadically for "his extraordinary pains". Important though the session clerk was and even in a parish like Kirkton with an established salary, confidence was not assured; Turnbull was given three years' arrears in 1745, but was warned that the salary would only continue if practicable "if not they will give over giving of it". The sample is too small and the spread too great to give useful averages, but one might conclude that initial salaries were about five shillings per annum whether introduced early in the century or in the middle, but when there were changes minuted after 1780 it was generally to a salary of about £1 (eighteen merks).

There is less evidence for a separate precentor's salary because the post was usually merged with another. If a schoolmaster was in trouble with the authorities then someone else would be made precentor pro tem with a one-off fee. Wilton had a precentor in the 1760s with a salary of £3 per annum (fifty four merks), but that was a special case because the parish schoolmaster had retired with the legal school salary as pension and the precentorship was used to give a regular salary to his successor. Innes of Bedrule received three shillings and one penny per annum in 1802, 1803, 1804 and 1807 (OPR 782/4), but complained in 1812 that he had received nothing and demanded one shilling for each Sunday (CH2/198/36/4/XVI) since his appointment in 1799. Two pounds ten shillings would have been a generous sum with the more usual being £1.

There are only two statements in the Statistical Account of the fees /

fees earned by session clerk: a registration, fourpence; one shilling or one shilling and sixpence for a proclamation; an extract for an individual fourpence, for a family sixpence.

The remaining two posts, heritors' clerk and poor money collector, were often combined, but not always. Furthermore they were at times confounded by posts such as parish clerk and overseer of the poor, so that again it is too difficult to make any definitive statements, but generally the heritors' clerk and collector post had a higher basic salary than that of the session clerk, probably because there was no fee income. Some parishes obviously valued this post highly. The Cavers clerk received £3.10.0 in the 1750s increased to £4 in 1762 and to £5 in 1767, but Cavers was a difficult parish geographically. More generally in the 1740s five shillings was the maximum, in the 1750s and 1760s in a range ten shillings to £2.10.0, in 1770s £1.10.0 to £3, in 1780s and 1790s £2 to £3, and a leap at 1800 or so to a range of £3 to £6. The explanation for the salary increase in Hownam in 1752 could probably be extended to all, namely the heritors' recognition of "the great fatigue and trouble of their collector in uplifting the several proportions of the poor rates" (HR199/1).

The heritors' clerk and collector were also rewarded with occasional payments. For example, the Hobkirk clerk received £8 for his extra work concerning the annexation of Abbotrule. The Crailing clerk received £2.10.0 from both session and heritors for making up the session minutes.

Roxburghshire schoolmasters were no better off than others elsewhere /

:where in Scotland when they became old, infirm and inefficient. Bain (n.d., p.56) and Simpson (1947, pp.114-5) quote examples in West Lothian and Aberdeenshire of positive help for the old teacher, but equally many were not so fortunate. In the current study there are examples of relatives striving to gain benefits unpaid to the deceased schoolmaster, but also of fair and prompt financial settlements upon a schoolmaster's death.

The Oxnam session ran into trouble when a former schoolmaster, Jonathon White, claimed that he resigned in 1757 on the condition of a pension being paid, and that the tenants, who then agreed to pay the pension, now refused to do so. The tenants claimed that each had agreed individually thinking that all the others had agreed. Unfortunately as there is a gap in the minutes the result is unknown, but a good guess would say that White lost.

The Abbotrule schoolmaster can be said to have received a pension, but really by default or by lethargy. In 1777 the parish was annexed to Hobkirk and Southdean, but the actual dissolution had to await the decrease or retiral of one of the three ministers which took place in 1784. Prior to that the Abbotrule school was in disrepair, there was no schooling in the winter, the schoolmaster was ill and living in Dalkeith. The heritors agreed to pay him the legal salary while he lived, which was until 1785 so that the heritors acquiesced into giving him a pension, but on the other hand the annexation issue had caused so many problems (to be discussed in Chapter Nine) that the 'pension' seemed the easy way out.

Lastly, /

Lastly, Wilton was served by Robert Wilson for forty years, but as he became less competent, the heritors' solution in 1756 was as minuted below.

"The meeting having considered the present condition of the public school and finding Robert Wilson, school-master, who has faithfully served the paroch in that office for many years, now labouring under great infirmities of old age whereby the education of the children of the paroch appears to be much impeded, and therefore that it is necessary another hand be employed to promote the same. And having regard to the old man that he may subsist comfortably upon employing another to teach the school therefore agree to consider of this matter more fully at next meeting, and recommend it to the said Robert Wilson to consider against that time when he will propose to the heritors for his subsistence, and lay the same before the meeting, or otherwise they will take what measure are legal to provide for the benefit of the education of the children of the paroch." (HR390/1.)

The iron hand in the velvet glove was successful for one week later Wilson "being sensible of the infirmities of old age" proposed to retire "upon security of £6 sterling yearly as his mentenance". Wilson, therefore, gave up office with a pension of the school-master's salary and nine shillings from the church as perquisites. His successor, Irwin, eventually gained a salary of £5 as precentor as we have noted earlier.

Roxburghshire schoolmasters, therefore, fared little better than their colleagues elsewhere, but they did receive that to which they were legally entitled. After 1803, there are examples of salary augmentation in lieu of the provision of a proper garden, at Hobkirk for /

for example because no heritor would give up any of his ground. The Minto schoolmaster received house rent in lieu of a "commodious house" and there is his receipt for the Buccleuch share, in 1722 and 1727, of "the yearly rent of ane house for the schoolmaster of Minto to live and teach in and for keeping of the said house wind and watertight" (GD224/254). This, however, didn't arise from the 1696 Act because the Minto papers reveal a payment of £5 Scots in 1694 (GD157/681).

A strict attendance to legal obligations is also evident. The Hobkirk heritors settled the new salary after 1803, and new fees, but the tail of the minutes held a sting: "and in consideration of the above augmentation the £5 allowed formerly to an assistant is now in future withdrawn " (HR312/2).

The schoolmasters also held other public posts which generated income. James Turnbull of Bedrule was clerk to the presbytery in the 1720s for which he received two shillings and sixpence per annum from each minister. Presumably the parish schoolmasters were responsible for making the lists arising from the Militia Act of 1797, but there is no mention in the local records even although the Act caused as much trouble in Jedburgh as elsewhere (Logue, 1979, p.79).

Lastly, there were numerous casual payments: in connection with education, for example, for teaching poor scholars in other parishes, or teaching church music, or for teaching a deaf and dumb boy; in connection with the poor, for rousing the effects of a deceased poor person; in connection with the clerkships, for overseeing repairs to church and school, or for collecting the Navy tax, or for /

for acting as land measurer. The Bedrule schoolmaster, as session clerk, was also beadle early in the century and as such was responsible for cleaning the Kirk ditch, for £2 Scots per annum, lowered to £1 in 1715. The payments for the ditch stopped about 1755 at which time a salary for the session clerk was established. Shortly after that the schoolmaster gave up acting as beadle and therefore saved himself from the censure received by the beadle in 1780 that he was not digging the graves deep enough which "occasioned a smell of putrification offensive to the senses of them who are at the Kirk door both without and within" (OPR782/4).

4(iii)e Total income

How well-provided were the parish schoolmasters of the Presbytery of Jedburgh? In terms of the 1696 Act, the basic legal salary of one hundred merks was somewhat slow to be implemented, but the 1803 revision was very speedily enacted and more often at the maximum of four hundred merks. Although there were a few salary increases in the eighteenth century, no schoolmaster before 1803 received two hundred merks, the maximum of the 1696 Act.

Three parishes had the benefit of valuable mortifications although the existence of these moneys was confusing in the initial stages of settling the legal salaries. Fees from pupils were, however, the most valuable single source of revenue for the parish schoolmaster in the eighteenth century. His salary was, in the main, static, but the fee level was increased gently throughout the period. Thus while the minimum salary was increased threefold at a stroke in 1803, the fees had gone up by the same amount in the century, but by more gradual stages. Until the 1790s these stages merely balanced the books by giving the master a greater return per head from a smaller population.

The most positive way for the schoolmaster to increase his income was to take on additional tasks and in Chapter Seven we shall look at that in more detail. It is difficult to assess the rewards from these extra parish posts, but Figure Eleven gives an estimate of the various parts of the total income in the 1790s.

Figure Eleven /

Figure ElevenParish Schoolmaster's Income

	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Maximum</u>
Salary	100 merks	150 merks
Mortification	-	45 "
School fees,		
40 pupils at 2/6 per quarter		360 "
20 " " " " "	180 "	
Session Clerk's salary	20 "	20 "
Heritors' Clerk's "	50 "	50 "
Associated fees	60 "	90 "
Poor scholars' fees	-	10 "
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	410 merks	725 merks
	(£23)	(£40)

The minimum in Figure Eleven would appear to make the Roxburghshire schoolmaster better off than many of his colleagues if the information is correct which is contained in the letter included in volume twenty one of Sinclair's Statistical Account. There it is suggested that more than half of Scotland's parochial schoolmasters have a total income of less than £16. On the other hand, if that £16 relates only to teaching income, then the Roxburghshire figure is not out of line.

It is commonly held that the schoolmaster's income was comparable with that of a labourer. Ferguson (1978, p.200) makes that point and it was often posited by the ministers in the Statistical Account. The Cavers entry gives the wages of a 'common labourer' as ten pence per day in winter and fourteen pence per day in summer. That would give /

give a maximum of £15 per annum which is compatible with the general view.

If one can distinguish the teaching income from the total it is clearly seen that the schoolmaster in Roxburghshire only earned more than the common labourer when the additional earnings are taken into account.

4(iv) Curricular Matters

Information about what was taught and how it was taught in the parochial schools of Jedburgh Presbytery is slight. The formal records make little reference unless finance was involved or there was an issue of appointment or dismissal. Fortunately we have some biographies and autobiographies which add some colour to the records even though that colour may have been enriched by the passage of time.

Considering first the subjects taught, most of the evidence has already been provided by the preceding sections on selection and fees. We noted that the fee at the beginning of the century was a uniform fee and the scale came later. The single fee was probably for reading and writing, and it was only with the introduction of arithmetic that the scale became more necessary. Beale (1983, p.131) noted that arithmetic was generally taught as part of the common curriculum by the early eighteenth century. In Roxburghshire the fee structure would suggest that arithmetic arrived slightly later even though there is no direct evidence.

Within the three Rs it can be seen that reading referred to both prose and verse, writing to copy and current hand, and that arithmetic was basically 'common and fractional' but became classified as 'the first five rules of arithmetic'. From the 1780s onwards, there was increasing interest in arithmetic and mathematics. To keep accounts was an important vocational objective of the study so that book-keeping, by single or double entry, appeared more frequently in the fee lists. The other practical objective was land-measuring /

land-measuring or mensuration.

Oxnam Statistical Account noted that the "higher branches are taught by agreement". This presumably refers to the higher branches of arithmetic. Latin appeared only twice. It was on the fee list of Crailing in 1781, was given by the minister in the Statistical Account, but was not on the 1803 list. Latin, Greek and French were given on the Southdean 1803 list. Oxnam's "higher branches" might include Latin, but it is unlikely.

The later replies to the Sheriff (PP 1826) indicate that only one parish school taught Latin then or earlier and that was Ancrum which was teaching Latin by 1825, but not before 1803. The Southdean schoolmaster in post at 1826 was appointed at 1800, therefore present at the drawing up of the 1803 list when Latin was mentioned, but he makes no mention of it in 1826 which suggests that he never taught the subject. As noted earlier, the 1781 Crailing reference to Latin was the only one in that parish and the master appointed in 1781 was still there in 1826 and he makes no mention of Latin, except to say that it was taught at the side school, Nisbet.

Interestingly enough Latin was taught at another side school in Eckford. The Wilton return observed that no Latin was taught in the parish because of the proximity of Hawick Grammar School. The conclusion from the foregoing must be that in these rural parishes before 1803 Latin was not taught and even after 1803 it was by no means widespread.

There is supporting evidence for that conclusion. In 1752 one William Buckham, "a well disposed young man of the parish of Ancrum being /

being desirous to acquire the Latin tongue in order to study of divinity", petitioned the presbytery for financial support. The presbytery put him on trial and were to seek contributions for him - the Marquis of Lothian put in a guinea (CH2/198/10).

We don't know if he received a contribution, passed the presbytery's trial, where he studied, etc. The only further mention was a note eight years later that a William Buckham, Ancrum, student of divinity, had been 'contumacious' to the Ancrum session for which he was soon very contrite. He had, therefore, gained enough Latin to study divinity, but where had he gained it? One must presume that the parish school could not offer Latin and that he was having to travel further afield. If the parish school did have Latin, the session would have supported a poor scholar.

The Bedrule session supported a poor scholar at Jedburgh from 1720 to 1723 which could mean he was there to study Latin and we do know that James Thomson, the poet, went to Jedburgh Grammar School, 1712-15, before going to Edinburgh University presumably because his home parish of Southdean could not supply Latin (Murdoch, 1773). John Leyden, about 1788, had to go to what his biographer called a "Secondary School" at Denholm with six or eight pupils, taught by Reverend James Duncan, the Cameronian minister "to gain his Latin for university" (Reith, n.d.). Robert Balmer went to Eckford parish school for a while about 1798, but when he was to begin to study Latin he had to go to school in the neighbouring parish of Morebattle followed by a year at Kelso Grammar School.

The strongest evidence for no Latin all comes later in the century and it may be that there was more offered early in the century when, /

when, as the next chapter indicates, it can be argued that the parish schoolmasters were better qualified. The Hownam schoolmaster in the 1720s appeared to teach Latin as is revealed in the following.

Robert Elliot ran foul of the authorities in 1722. He was charged that he did not give due attention to the school, was not capable for working of it, did not pray with pupils morning and afternoon and was guilty of some foolish and impudent miscarriages (CH2/198/8). With regard to the first charge, it was said that Elliot was absent for three days while fowling and hunting. Elliot responded that he was at school in the mornings, but had reasons for not staying.

On the second charge, Elliot claimed that he had been tried by the presbytery. An additional charge was made that George Cranston's son had made no proficiency in Latin while under Elliot. (George Cranston was the elder pressing the charge at the presbytery on behalf of the congregation.) Elliot replied that Cranston's son had apparently done one and a half years' Latin before he came, but, in fact, could not read nor expound and was bettered by another pupil who had started after Cranston's son. Other parishioners were happy with Elliot's teaching and the pupils' progress. Cranston claimed they were English pupils, not Latin, to which Elliot responded that he found three or four Latin pupils when he first came, took them on with their grammar and there had been no complaint.

To the third charge, that he did not pray with the pupils until he heard /

heard about the complaints, Elliot made no defence. He admitted his error, expressed sorrow and said, as he was now doing it, he would not overlook it again.

On the fourth charge, it was represented that the parishioners would again join with him as precentor if he submitted to the presbytery's words. Elliot did so submit though he said he could have denied on just grounds some of the charges laid under this head.

The presbytery rebuked Elliot publicly from the pulpit for the fourth charge and the Moderator had to go to Hownam to do it. The presbytery's decision will be examined in Chapter Nine, but the interesting thing here is that Latin was taught, was expected to be taught and there were four or five pupils. There is a doubt about how effectively it was taught, but that is by the way.

Latin, therefore, was offered only in Jedburgh and Hawick at the end of the eighteenth century, but it may have been more common early in the century. Certainly the incidence of Latin in Roxburghshire seems to have been much less than in other parts of the country. Beale (1983, p.131) describes it as part of the "usual curriculum" and Simpson (1947, p.36) says that "in the eighteenth century nearly all the Aberdeenshire parish schools were Grammar schools".

The other subject that is mentioned in the eighteenth century is church music and there appears to have been a flurry of activity on this in the late 1750s and 1760s. There is no apparent reason from /

from the presbytery and synod papers, but it may have been a response to the Assembly Act of 1747 about the 'Manner of the Singing of Psalms'. Certainly the successful candidate at Kirkton in 1761 was the one who allowed himself to be examined in church music and in the following year it was one of the examinable subjects at the Hownam election. In 1769 the Minto schoolmaster was to receive an additional £2.10.0 to teach church music (GD224/251).

The S.S.P.C.K. ran a school at Caerlanrig in the parish of Cavers (to be examined in Chapter Six) and there remains the annual report for 1767 by the teacher to the presbytery on the pupils and their progress (CH2/198/36/5/VI). The subjects taught were reading, writing, arithmetic and church music and the performance was recorded as follows: reading, by identifying the text being read, e.g. Bible, New Testament, etc.; writing, whether or not they could copy; church music, by the number of tunes known, from 0 to 9; arithmetic, by identifying the stage reached, e.g. 'rule of three', 'addition', 'square cube', etc. Each pupil was also assessed on whether or not he or she could repeat the catechism.

As well as a clear insight into method, the above shows the use of books. The Jedburgh poor scholars were graded according to whether they were beginning reading, reading the single catechism, Proverbs or the Bible (CH2/552/12) and a similar system is employed here. As elsewhere the rural sessions were prepared to pay for books, Bibles or testaments mainly, for poor scholars. One interesting purchase for a poor scholar was a spelling book in Bedrule /

Bedrule in 1755, interesting because this was the only recorded purchase of a textbook as such, and at quite an early date according to Law (1965, pp.194-7).

Thomson (1875, pp.17-18) states that the Bible and the Shorter Catechism were the books used by his father in the late 1780s and 1790s; "one question every morning, two double verses of a Psalm on the Monday, a careful revise every Saturday ... " Younger (1881) at about the same time also remembers the committing to memory of the Catechism at the rate of one or two questions per day, first singly then with scripture proofs attached, and the repetition of the Psalm on the Monday. At that time Masson's spelling book was in use and "Reading in Use". He describes the early reading process: "what an exertion of judgement and memory takes place between the time we can certainly distinguish the letter 'O', 'round like the Moon', till we have learnedly mastered the 'Reading Made Easy'" (p.5). He also related the method of 'reading verse about' "with the full liberty of trapping the reader at every wrong expression and taking his higher place".

Younger went to school aged 'rising five' and stayed until he was nine when he left to start as a shoemaker with his father. John Leyden went to school at the age of nine until he was about fifteen. James Thomson went to Jedburgh Grammar at the age of twelve, but he may have received his earlier education at Southdean school or at home. The variation was, therefore, very great and this is highlighted dramatically by the Caerlanrig report referred to earlier. There were forty-nine pupils and the numbers at each age range are given below.

Figure Twelve /

Figure TwelveAges of Caerlanrig Pupils

Age	Boys	Girls
0-5 years	1	4
6-10 "	6	8
11-15 "	15	3
16-20 "	9	1
20+	2	0

This is a startling example of the openness of the old system and even if six of the older pupils were aged sixteen years there were still five older including one aged twenty six and one twenty eight. As the school was under threat, and indeed closed that year, there may well have been a certain generous interpretation to some of the statistics, but the visiting presbytery was not likely to have been completely fooled. It may also be that the older pupils were only casual or occasional scholars, but the attendance return, even if it also is optimistic, suggests that they can't have been too casual.

Figure ThirteenAttendance of Caerlanrig Pupils

Attendance	Boys	Girls
'constant'	18	5
'frequent'	10	10
'seldom'	5	1

The age range helps explain the case of David Turnbull, schoolmaster at Southdean, who in 1734 was accused of adultery with one of /

of his pupils, Mary Davidson (CH2/198/9). A witness, a sixteen year-old-girl, claimed to find the couple at school between noon and two o'clock, Turnbull with his arm round Mary, and that she had sat beside Mary in the afternoon when Mary told her that Turnbull had lain with her. (When the presbytery first heard the case they decided to delay the matter, call witnesses, but also see if Mary was with child.) The witness was asked if she had anything against Turnbull to which she replied 'no', but "she had a sister who would bear his marks as long as she lives". Turnbull denied the charge and eventually was cleared after Mary had been considered unreliable, and also not pregnant.

At first reading it seemed unlikely that girls aged sixteen plus would be at a parish school, but in the light of the Caerlanrig evidence it is quite possible.

There is no evidence about the length of the school day or the school year, although we know that Abbotrule and Bedrule had only winter schools in 1700 and 1703 (CH2/198/6). Early in the nineteenth century, 1809, the presbytery laid down school hours in Hobkirk which would probably be similar to those in the neighbourhood; ten till one, two till five, except in winter when it should be ten till one, half past one till three o'clock, plus three hours on Saturdays (HR312/10/2). Such a regulation was apparently very necessary if Thomson (1875, p.19) is right when he implies that part-time education at Hobkirk still flourished about 1790. "Thus passed a few happy years of boyhood - herding in summer, at school in winter. How many of Scotland's boys have been reared in the same fashion. It is difficult to say in which school the nobler lesson /

lesson is taught, the purer thoughts are cherished - the day school or the herding school".

Such an idyllic view was not shared by Paterson (1829, p.6) who spent most of his time in 1813 running away from the parochial schoolmaster at Ancrum, John Scott, appointed in 1777, as he viewed school "as a place of torture, pain and punishment". About ten years earlier Andrew Smith kept running away from his school in Cavers (Kirby, 1965, p.2). And Younger (1881, pp.4-5) began, in 1790, his "schoolboy days of sore trial, task and discipline" at Ancrum.

In the light of these experiences, the conclusion of the Oxnam minister in the Statistical Account is just about fair: "the labouring part (of the people) support their families in a very decent manner, and give their children a tolerable education".

4(v) School buildings

With regard to buildings there is uncertainty not only about what was provided, but also about what ought to have been provided. The 1696 Act stipulated that a "commodious house for a school" should be provided by the heritors and the local decision of the Commissioners of Supply in 1720 ruled that a stent of one hundred merks should be undertaken for that purpose wherever it was necessary. That is what ought to have been provided, but it does not specify what is "commodious", it does not indicate if a dwelling house was to be included and it does not give guidance about the maintenance of whatever was provided. Having read the sources one has difficulty in stating what was provided, when it was first provided and who provided it. Part of the problem is lack of information, but also there is the interpretation of the information that is discovered.

Most of the early references to a school building are in the area of accounts showing repairs. That lets us know who was paying for the maintenance, but it does not indicate whether the school was a rented or purchased or purpose built property. In addition these references are generally to the school or to the schoolhouse, which may or may not include a dwelling house. Sometimes the reference is clear, 'schoolhouse and dwelling house', but even these could mean separate buildings although there is evidence to show that they can refer to one building. In this study unless there is clear evidence against, it has been understood that the school was one building which included teaching and residential accommodation and that a reference to repairs meant that there was a /

a maintained building for the school, i.e. the school was not perambulating and it was not in the church.

Attempting to give a date to the first existence of a schoolhouse is impossible. Establishing existence is difficult enough and that is because the evidence is very dependent upon heritors' records. The church records gave clues about schoolmasters because salaries were often matters that required formal settlement and legal procedures and also the schoolmasters had formalities, like signing the Confession, which had to be completed. The schoolhouse was a less regular concern, and if there are no heritors' records there are no accounts of repairs made.

There is no doubt that in the presbytery of Jedburgh the schoolhouse was, and was seen to be, the responsibility of the heritors, but that is not to deny the Kirk Session any role. It is apparent that the session took an interest and put up finance until the heritors performed their tasks properly. There are several examples of the session's paying for repairs and purchasing furniture in the first half of the century, (e.g. Wilton, 1716 or Ancrum, 1734) and even occasional examples from later (e.g. Hobkirk 1767 or Kirkton, 1801). The Roxburghshire Sessions were not unusual in this respect because Beale (1983, p.135) notes that the Fife sessions were similarly involved. The session's function was to set things in motion and thereafter to fill in the gaps, but the principal burden was taken by the heritors, although as we have seen before, in some parishes the solution was for the parish meeting, rather than the heritors', to conduct the supervision.

If /

If we discount Abbotrule because it has no local records and was annexed during the century, there were references to a school building in seven parishes out of twelve in the period to 1740 and the remaining five parishes are mentioned one in each of the following decades. However, that has to be set against the background of the availability of heritors' records; three parishes had none at all, and the remainder all began at after 1740. It may, in fact, be that the heritors performed their responsibilities admirably from the beginning of the century, but because there are only church records we give the church a stronger role.

We can't, therefore, be firm about when the school was first established or who took the initiative. The Bedrule school is an interesting case in this respect. There are full session records for the eighteenth century, but no reference to a building beyond one from the session in 1693 that the money to be recovered in the Commissariat Court, arising from a vacant stipend, should be used by the session to build a house for the schoolmaster. The next mention is in 1795 when the Presbytery report that the teaching room was too small. Oxnam, according to the Statistical Account, had a school and schoolhouse built from money left by Lady Yester in the 1630s, but there are no heritors' records and no further reference to a school. One can surmise that Bedrule and Oxnam had had buildings since the seventeenth century, that they were founded by the session and by the mortification, but that, since there are session records without a school reference and no heritors' records, the heritors maintained the building from then on. But one could be wrong.

After the 1720 decision of the Commissioners of Supply, the local position /

position was that a building costing up to one hundred merks should be provided by the heritors and one would imagine that serious breaches of that guideline would have come before the presbytery. In 1778 there were reports to the synod from the presbytery on the state of the schools and it was noted that the reports for Crailing, Hobkirk and Southdean made no mention of buildings. This would appear to have been an oversight for Crailing and Southdean because there is sufficient contemporary evidence of repairs etc. Hobkirk had had a schoolhouse, but in 1777 it was in a ruinous condition and the schoolmaster was complaining. A new school was built three years later.

Very occasional references on buildings come through the presbytery records after visitations, e.g. on Hownam, 1725 and Hobkirk, 1726, and there was a note in 1765 that Kirkton had no schoolhouse. (The schoolmaster complained in 1787 that the school was too small.) It is likely, therefore, that from 1720 there was a building in each parish for a school most of the time, but that it was not a very substantial building and it could easily fall into disrepair.

In Chapter Two we noted that the Commissioners of Supply had to act in connection with the school at Eckford. The heritors' records opened in 1740 with the issue of the site of the parish school which was deemed to have been in an "inconvenient place of the parish and that there wants a publick school and schoolhouse for teaching of youth" (HR530/1). By a majority vote it was agreed that Eckford should be the place. A piece of ground was to be reserved and the schoolmaster transported the next month. The issue was complicated by the discovery in the session minutes of a note that in 1694 the session and heads of families within the /

the Barony of Eckford were fully agreed to build a house for the schoolmaster with the proviso that it should be for the schoolmaster's use and should not return again to the Duchess of Buccleuch. It was further claimed that having built the school at public expense they had it taken from them and it was then possessed by his Grace's Officer. The Duke of Buccleuch expressed willingness to have his ground appropriated for public use, but the heritors wanted something more definite.

There was no clear conclusion to this dispute, which stretched over four years, apparent in the parish records. In 1752 the presbytery was asked to declare the Eckford school as the parish school, but it concluded that that was not its business, but that of the Commissioners of Supply. Whether this was a continuation of the dispute from 1740-44 is vague, but it looks rather as if, though the parish schoolmaster was settled and agreed, the parish school was not.

In 1757 a school was built in Eckford on Buccleuch ground, at a cost of £24.16.10. Interestingly enough, soon after it was built someone decided to build a house against the gable wall of the school. The heritors objected as it damaged the school wall and prevented the children from playing "on the knowe". The builder claimed that it didn't hamper the children and indeed it made an external wall of the school into an internal wall. He was allowed to continue as long as he paid the schoolmaster ten shillings to have the gable repaired.

This dispute about where to site the parish school arises from the particular nature and history of the parish. The Dukes of Roxburghe /

Roxburghe and Buccleuch were the major heritors and back in 1700 the Roxburghe estate supported three schoolmasters in the parish. Around the same time the Buccleuchs were supporting another. In 1705 Roxburghe paid one master "according to the Act of Parliament" while Buccleuch paid another. Thereafter the one name came forward and there was a clear parochial schoolmaster. The mystery remains, but it would appear that the estates supported their own schoolmasters, but that there was at some point agreement about the legally settled schoolmaster. There were occasional payments to other teachers during the century and by 1826 there was a side school in the parish and another school supported by fees (PP 1826).

There were, therefore, two or three population centres in the parish, each with traditions of education, and hence the dispute in the 1740s about where to place the parish school. Why the dispute broke out in 1740 is not known. It could not be because there had been no parochial school before because the presbytery visited the Eckford school in 1722 and there was no comment about the building, though there was about the master. In the light of the representation made later from the Caverton area of the parish, there was probably a new school to be built, or major repairs to be made, a decision time when pressure might bring about change, but the principal heritor, Buccleuch, was unmoved.

One other interesting point from this Eckford case is another reference to a seventeenth century foundation for the school building, pre 1696, along with Bedrule 1693 and Oxnam 1630s.

The difficulty of gleaning precise information about buildings is not confined to Roxburghshire; Bain (1965, pp.105-7) outlines his /

his conclusions for Stirlingshire and they are very cautious. One fairly common conclusion is that "repairs and maintenance were a constant problem, especially when the heritors failed in their duty and the Kirk Session had to step in" (Scotland, 1969, p.64). Bain (n.d., p.26) supports that view, but in another place (1974, p.86) he is inclined to describe a more "laissez-faire" situation where the session just lets things slide and does not complain. Simpson (1947, p.140) states that presbyteries too were reluctant to take legal steps to enforce the law. The church authorities, therefore, limited themselves to giving a nudge to the heritors and often kept things going themselves in Roxburghshire as elsewhere. Why the presbytery should take such a role will be discussed later in Chapter Nine.

When one examines the size and conditions of the school buildings, two examples appear in the literature. The first is at Dailly from 1741 quoted by Wright (1898, p.144) and Boyd (1901, p.46). The second is of Aberdour, in Aberdeenshire, in the early nineteenth century quoted by Kerr (1913, p.204), Scotland (1969, p.189), Ferguson (1978, p.200), and mentioned twice briefly by Simpson (1947, p.144 and p.215). If one takes the Dailly model the school was thirty feet long and fourteen feet wide, while Aberdour was thirty four feet long by fourteen feet wide. Boyd (1961, p.46) also refers to the Loudon school which was thirty six feet long by sixteen feet wide and Bain (n.d., p.27) quotes the size of the Queensferry school of 1680 as thirty feet by eighteen feet. The difficulty for a researcher is that one cannot make meaningful comparisons. Certainly the Dailly building contained four hundred and twenty square feet while Loudon contained five hundred and seventy six square feet, but there is information for these /

these four examples that is not always available; we know that the first pair were single storey, while the second pair were two storey buildings. The differences, therefore, became even greater for the area of the latter pair is completely devoted to teaching (and a similar area above for the residence) while the single storey building has to have a partition within so that the teaching area is less than the dimensions given. Beale (1983, p.135) refers to two examples from Fife in the 1720s; one building was to be thirty feet by fifteen feet while the other was only twenty feet by thirteen feet and he brings forth another factor, obvious but nonetheless confounding, that school size was related to parish size. Unfortunately the Roxburgh evidence cannot confirm that, either with regard to geographical size or to population size.

There are at least a dozen examples from the present study of the dimensions of new buildings, proposed buildings or extensive additions, and nine references to size from the replies to the Sheriff (PP 1826), but there is insufficient clarity as to what the dimensions cover for generalisations to be made. For example, there were two examples from the 1760s, one proposed, one erected, with areas of seven hundred to seven hundred and fifty square feet, while the Eckford school built in 1757 at one hundred and eighty square feet was extended in 1780 to only two hundred and fifty square feet. One might be able to argue that the area increased throughout the 1750s and 1760s, declined in the 1780s and 1790s and that followed the way the population had developed, but the premise of comparing like with like cannot be confirmed. Having suffered fifty children taking measles in two days, Minto built a new school in 1792 of four hundred and seventy square feet, "the /

"the most beautiful and commodious schoolhouse in the south of Scotland", according to the Minto minister in the Statistical Account and fortunately there is a plan (Figure Fourteen) in the Minto papers. The plan reveals that the area mentioned is all teaching area and the building has no residential accommodation. (It is also interesting for the apparent distinction between 'writers' and 'accountants'.)

An idea of what may have been an acceptable standard can be gained from the presbyterial comments. For example, in 1726 the presbytery deemed the Hobkirk school too small. It was thirteen feet by twelve feet and the comment was that it was insufficient for the schoolmaster, far less the scholars. Again in 1795 the presbytery found the Bedrule school to be too small at fifteen feet by thirteen feet, and that referred to the teaching room only. Standards have changed during the century, therefore. More space has been given to the teaching area, and accommodation for the schoolmaster was often provided. The new school at Wilton in 1793 had a teaching room of twenty two feet by eighteen feet and two rooms for the master of twelve feet by eighteen feet.

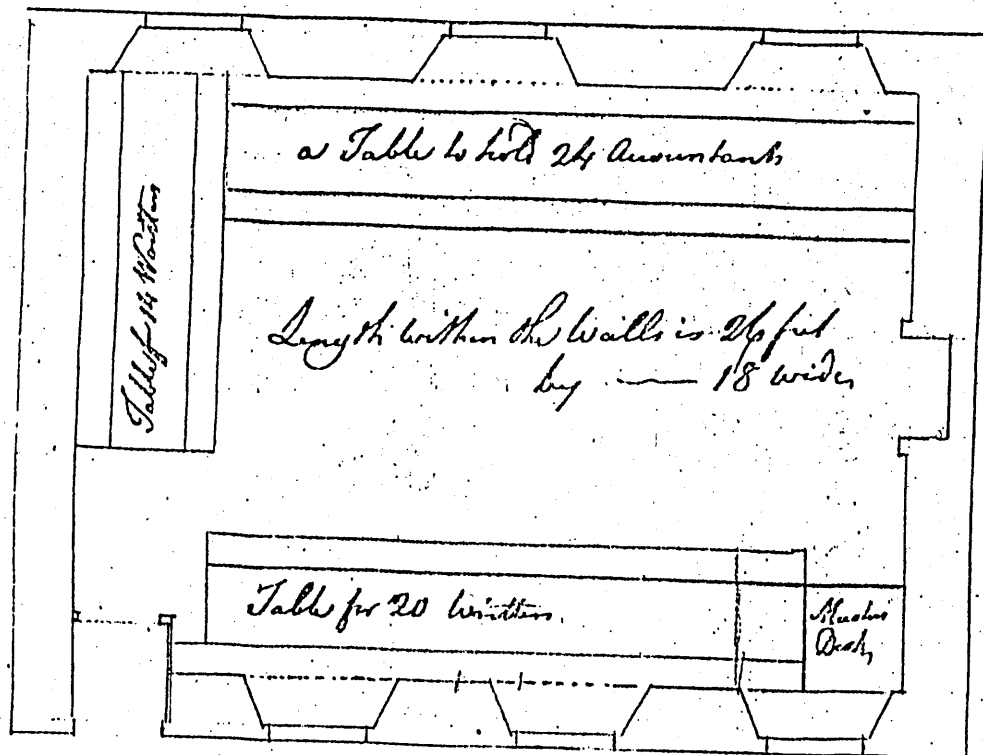
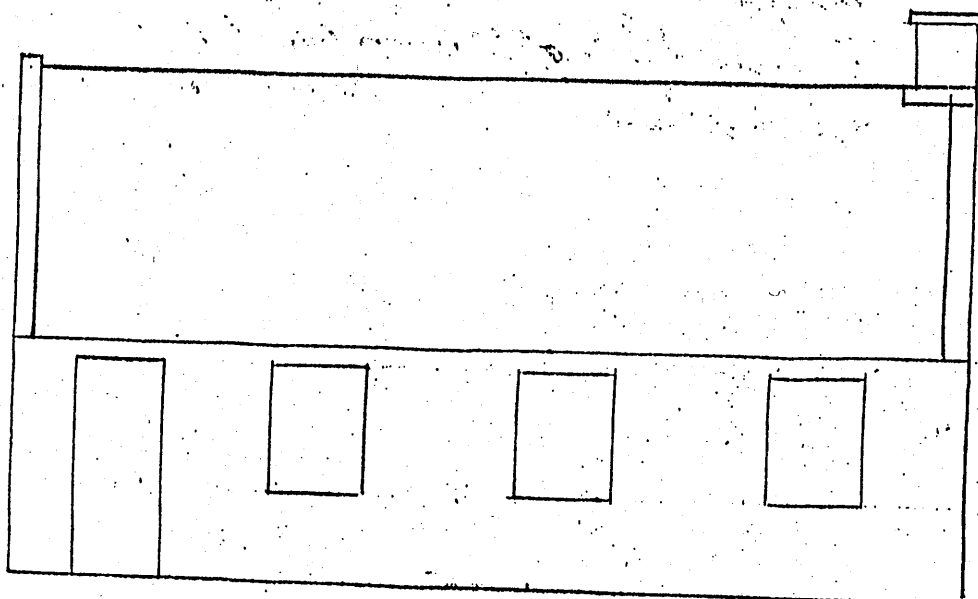
Also there were more buildings with two floors, the house being above the schoolroom, but there is no mention in the records of a local decision about the provision of living quarters. It appears to have remained optional until 1803.

One parish is recorded as giving house rent, Minto, and that became unnecessary at some point between 1722 and 1772.

Lastly /

FIGURE FOURTEEN

a. Plan of a New School at Minto
 Windows to be 4 feet high by 2-10
 Door 6-3 by 3 feet
 Feb 27/10 - 1792



Lastly, there is a question of design. The traditional development was from single to double storey with the house on top. An alteration is suggested by the Eckford renovations of 1802 when the improvements were to make the school more comfortable for the children and any repairs were to be made to the schoolmaster's house which would strengthen the building. Within the more detailed specifications is stated that the gable between school and house was to be rebuilt with a chimney on each side. That would appear to mean an end to end arrangement, semi-detached, rather an internal division in one building.

Although it is difficult to show an increase in the space provided, there is, as one would expect, an increase in cost, but again as the size of the building is uncertain one cannot make any observations about the scale of the increases beyond that. Looking at the dates of the new schools, proposed or erected, there is a period of activity in the 1750s and early 1760s, and again in the 1780s and 1790s, but why there should have been a lull in the 1770s is impossible to explain.

Schoolbuilding there was and very little reparation to law, but one must not conclude that the state of affairs was always harmonious or satisfactory. The Crailing petition of 1767 claimed that the school "needs to be immediately repaired for the preservation of the Children's lives" and thirty years later the schoolmaster of the same parish complained that there was so little light in the winter and the room was so small he had to send pupils to his house which was a great inconvenience to him and his family. When the Wilton master petitioned for repairs in 1760 the heritors found that the buildings "may yet stand for some time".

After /

After reviewing the evidence found on school buildings, the author regretted not taking note of the cost and nature of church and manse repairs and replacements. There is much more information about the ecclesiastical buildings and that could form a useful standard against which to make comparisons. For example, we noted that the new Wilton school in 1762 cost £39; the new Wilton Church at the same time cost £288. One form of comparison has been considered, and perhaps it is more appropriate; that is, with other rural buildings. The details given for the new schools can be compared with the general practices employed in the buildings on the farms and in the countryside. A most valuable survey of rural architecture has been made by Fenton and Walker (1981) and it is from that that the following examples will be taken.

The size of a building is dependent upon the kind of materials that are used to build it. Fenton and Walker suggest that stone was not common as a building material prior to the period of agricultural improvement, which, therefore, limited the height of the walls, the width of the building and its 'life'. In Roxburghshire this led to buildings twelve to thirteen feet wide and with walls of five feet high (p.53). The introduction of lime mortar made more solid walls which permitted load-bearing and, therefore, upper storeys. Stone and lime walls were used in the buildings of the gentry etc., in the seventeenth century, but by the 1790s even the smaller farmhouses had such walls (p.91) with the result that the width was of seventeen to twenty one feet and there were generally two storeys, often with a garret floor (p.105).

Looking at the dimensions for the schoolhouses it is quite apparent that /

that those of the 1750s and 1760s had a maximum width of sixteen feet, but in the second period of building, the 1780s and 1790s, the maximum was twenty one and a half feet, and the standard was about eighteen feet. Again in the first period the height of the walls was between six and eight feet, but in the second, from eight to twelve feet, and most of the planned or actual buildings of the second period were of two storeys.

"One of the consequences of building improvement was that much greater expense went into the house" (p.56). We noted earlier that the costs of schoolbuilding had increased; in the 1750s and 1760s the range was £25 to £40; in the later period, £70 to £88. Part of the increase can be accounted for by the greater capacity of the buildings, and inflation could account for another proportion, but it is reasonable to assume that part of the increase is due to the improved quality of the building itself.

There is, therefore, a clear parallel between the developments that took place in rural buildings generally and in school buildings in particular. The improving movement affected farm buildings and in this rural society the school shared in these improvements and at about the same time. Indeed the school buildings appeared to be part of the same variety. How different they were from the church and manse would, as we suggested earlier, form an interesting study.

Limewashing and harling were known prior to the eighteenth century, but not used on rural buildings until the later eighteenth century (p.99). Interestingly, the schoolhouses seem to have been so treated earlier. The presbytery recommended the Hownam school to be /

be limed in 1725 and the Ancrum school was plastered with lime, inside and out, in 1758. The Hobkirk school was "pinned and harled" in 1760 and in 1788, eight years after the new school was erected, there was a report of "the present uncomfortable state of the schoolhouse on account of it not being lath'd and plaistered above stairs and the walls in the Room below".

Smout (1972, p.283) describes the tenant's house of the 1760s as having only one glazed window, approximately one and a half feet by two feet. Repairs to windows are common features of the records, but one cannot tell if all the windows were glazed. There are sufficient entries from 1750 onwards to suggest that at least from then the schoolhouse windows were glazed. In addition, the school was better served than the tenant's in the number of windows. The Crailing proposal of 1767 had seven windows, three of one foot by one and a half feet and four of three feet by two feet. The Hobkirk school of 1781 had five, two at five feet by two feet and three at two and a half feet by two and a half feet, the Ancrum proposal of 1787 had five also, each three feet by four and a half feet, and the Minto plan of 1792 has six of three feet by four and a half feet. In addition, it can be seen that the size of the windows is increasing and so was the cost of repair which led the Hobkirk heritors in 1780 to cover the windows with "Wier tirlace", wire mesh.

Another important consideration was the roofing material and re-thatching was a common repair. Fenton and Walker (1981) describe various forms of thatching, some more advanced than others, but it is impossible from the records to identify developments with regard to thatch. What one can note, however, is the /

the change from thatch to slate. This was taking place at the end of the century although Somerville (1861, p.340) noted that the first slated building in Hawick was about 1757. Eckford had a thatch repair in 1791, but in a major renovation in 1802 changed to slate. Of course, the picture is less clear cut than that one example would suggest. Southdean thatched a new school, and a new manse, in 1786 and repaired the thatch in 1800-02. Kirkton made a thatch repair in 1802, while Hobkirk's new school of 1781 and the Ancrum proposal of 1787 both had slate roofs. Even more surprising is Cavers parish which thatched its manse in 1779, but slated the new school two years later. In general these developments follow the findings of Fenton and Walker that "in the last decade of the eighteenth century in the South-East all new buildings of two storeys or more were slated with blue or ... grey slates" (p.69).

Fenton and Walker suggest that the introduction of slate was most prevalent where slate was available locally, but the Roxburgh parishes were using Welsh slate. In addition, the building specifications often make reference to foreign timber so that the buildings were not then only formed from those materials close at hand. The references to foreign timber, and often Russian logs in particular, seemed to follow from the general shortage of wood in this part of the country which was mentioned in Chapter Two. This, however, is perhaps only partially correct because Fenton and Walker point out (p.56) that the use of slates often necessitated the use of foreign timber because native timber was not normally level enough.

Somerville (1861, p.340) observed that in the middle of the eighteenth /

eighteenth century the few two storey buildings had outside stairs and the Crailing plan of 1767 and the Wilton school of 1792 had outside stairs, but the Cavers schoolmaster of 1782 was fortunate in having an inside stair to his quarters.

Flooring too was given attention latterly. As late as 1792 the Wilton school was deemed to be in need of flooring, but in the 1780s Ancrum had laid flagstones and Eckford had laid a composition of lime, sand and clay. Of course, the increasing number of two storey buildings meant that the schoolmaster's house was floored with wood.

With regard to furniture and fittings, the Minto plan (Figure Fourteen) shows the desks round the walls with the Master's desk beside the fire and these seem to be the principal components. There are frequent references to replacement desks and benches, but whether there was a real distinction made between readers' and accountants' tables is not known. It is likely that the fire was stocked by the fuel brought by the pupils though there is no mention from the records of the time. Thomson (1875) observed that it was the practice in his father's time about 1790. Fenton (1976, pp.198-9) notes that the burning of coal required a different hearth from that of peat which is confirmed by a reference from Kirkton in 1807: "from want of peats the schoolhouse must necessarily be warmed with coal fire which requires a grate" (HR 277/2).

The building of a new school was undertaken with some thoroughness. In 1787 the Ancrum heritors called for estimates and had that advertised /

advertised on two market days at Jedburgh. The previous year at Southdean they were even more enthusiastic and the minister had "to advertise at the market crosses of Jedburgh, Hawick and at the Kirk doors of Jedburgh, Ancrum, Minto, Cavers and Hawick, Hobkirk and Bedrule". The workmen were to be obliged "to uphold the work for three years" (HR 191/1). The manse was extended at the same time and when an error was discovered payment was, in fact, withheld from the tradesmen.

There is a serious danger in writing an account such as this that one overrates specific and isolated examples because they are interesting or unusual or because they do not fit with the more traditional view. Graham (1901) has been shown to be over-pessimistic in other matters, but the picture of squalor and misery he outlines (pp.424-7) is presented more generally as that of the conditions suffered by the eighteenth century schoolmaster. The tale of misery is repeated in Scotland (1969, pp.62-5) and leads the general historian Ferguson (1978, p.200) to conclude that "often the parish school was a miserable hovel with earthen floors on which the pupils scrawled their letters and numbers".

Fife, like Roxburgh, does not fit that pattern; "it is plain that in Fife we need not take too seriously Grey Graham's description of the usual school" (Beale, 1983, p.136).

In Roxburgh, conditions in the rural parishes did improve throughout the century. It is almost certain that from the 1720s there was a schoolhouse in every parish and that by the 1780s most schoolmasters were also provided with a dwelling house. These buildings /

buildings were not substantial, in that they needed frequent repairs, or to be rebuilt, and often material from the old building was used in the new. However, in the context of the times and the community, no buildings were substantial, so that major repairs had to be conducted, e.g. re-thatching, and the re-use of the longer lasting materials, such as stone and timber, was common and prudent. It should not be surprising to see the Kirkton heritors pay seven shillings in 1788 to the widow of the schoolmaster for the two doors which she left in the schoolhouse.

In the context of the times and the community, the school buildings were in line with best practice in terms of methods, materials and size. The schoolhouse was probably comparable to that of a tenant or small heritor. The schoolroom was equipped with basic teaching furniture and had more windows than the normal house. The general improvements in rural housing that took place in the later part of the eighteenth century are reflected in the school buildings.

Having given the positive perspective, it cannot be argued that this was uniform for all parishes or all occasions. The presbytery could find fault. Schoolmasters did complain. Heritors did decide to 'make do' with old buildings when the advice was to rebuild. The Ancrum heritors drew up specifications for a new building in 1787, but cancelled the project at the next meeting because the existing school, which lay alongside the church, "must be kept up as a necessary apartment upon sacramental occasions". Elsewhere the church was used as a school, but here the school was needed as a church.

There /

There is an account in Tancred (1907, pp.300-01) of the parish school of Hobkirk in the early 1840s. From the present research Hobkirk had a new school in 1780, thirty three feet long, fifteen feet wide with walls twelve feet high. It had five windows, was slated and was two storeyed. It also had the mesh over the windows. Eight years later it was lathed and plastered. In 1826 the Hobkirk school was given as forty three feet by fifteen and a quarter feet by twelve and a quarter feet (PP 1826). From that evidence the Hobkirk school was a good example of its kind, well built in the 1780s and probably extended before 1826. The Tancred account is:

"the schoolmaster's house was little better than an ordinary cottage. It consisted of two rooms, with a trap-door and a ladder to the loft above. It had a room thrown out on one side for the scholars. At one end of this room stood the bookcases of the Hobkirk library. The floor was composed of a mixture of clay, the benches were without backs and very narrow, and the room was badly lit ... There was no need of ventilation as badly fitting doors and windows supplied all that was required".

There is no real discrepancy in detail between the clinical descriptions of the formal records and Tancred's personal recollection of childhood experience, but to some extent they represent two different perspectives and reality must lie somewhere in between.

Tancred (1907) also observed that there were no sanitary arrangements and indeed that an open ditch, "the Lousy drain", flowed through the playground with all the unpleasant results. Other schools must have suffered similar discomfort. Southdean school was beside the common stable and in 1801, though perhaps away by /

by Tancred's time, Hobkirk schoolhouse had the common stable built at its back.

Schoolbuildings in Roxburghshire, therefore, were not ideal, but they may not have been as bad as elsewhere and certainly they were consistent with and appropriate to the communities they served.

Chapter Five

Qualifications and Careers of Schoolmasters

(i) Qualifications

The education received by the schoolmasters themselves is varied. Boyd (1961, p.56) claims that "the presbyteries who licensed and the heritors who appointed the parish schoolmasters generally looked for a man with a college education ... " That may have been the intention, but it is not made explicit in Roxburghshire. The minutes of selection meetings and the newspaper advertisements, where these exist, make no mention of this requirement. What is stated is that the candidates be "qualified to teach ... ", but sometimes 'being qualified' appears in practice to mean 'having taught previously'; experience, therefore, rather than university education.

Boyd himself points to the reality when he indicates that, assuming that Ayrshire folk would go to Glasgow University, of sixty three teachers, thirty nine had attended the university and twenty four had not. The full spectrum is more graphically expressed by Cruickshank (1970, pp.16-17) when answering her own question 'What sort of man was the parochial schoolmaster?'. At one end, "the scholarship of many a schoolmaster made him a figure of distinction At his best he was a university man, who had attended for one or two sessions even if he had not graduated." At the other end, "sometimes there was a boy in charge of the school ... Even decayed tradesmen were employed in some of the outlying regions".

The /

The difficulty in the current study was to ascertain who was a graduate. As Ayrshire folk probably would go to Glasgow, it was assumed that Roxburghshire folk would go to Edinburgh. Confirmation of this appears on the diagram in Barrow (1976, p.97).

Unfortunately Edinburgh University records of matriculation and graduation for the eighteenth century do not give any idea of from whence came the students. One has had, therefore, to make judgments on rather sketchy evidence. Some cases are quite clear: a John Purdom graduated in 1669; a John Purdom took up the post in Hawick in 1669. But there is a John Scott at Southdean in 1759 and John Scott was registered for classes at Edinburgh in 1753, 1754, 1756, 1757, 1758. Is the Southdean Scott a former Edinburgh student?

The traditional indicator is the use of 'Mr'. "A schoolmaster with a university degree ... would always be given the prefix Mr in any document." (Elliot, 1976, p.225). Or more liberally, "in recognition of the fact that they had gone through a course of university study they bore the designation of Master (Mr) and were so entitled in the Kirk Session records" (Boyd, 1961, p.56). However, in the current study, even a cursory analysis revealed a dozen schoolmasters who were designated 'Mr' in one document, but not in another, so that the use of 'Mr' is only a very rough measure.

To outline the drawbacks and limitations of the methods and evidence is not to deny the possibility of there being some conclusions to be drawn. Analysing the use of 'Mr' and assuming that the dozen inconsistent cases should be classed 'Mr', it can be /

be seen that thirty one out of seventy seven parochial schoolmasters were so designated, six out of nineteen English schoolmasters, and twenty out of twenty grammar schoolmasters and doctors.

Does combining two crude measures give a more refined or a cruder measure? Checking the matriculation registers, there were thirty six students who could have been schoolmaster in the Presbytery designated 'Mr', but there were a further twenty who, identified by the same criteria, were not 'Mr'. And there were twenty one schoolmasters, sometimes called 'Mr', who did not appear to have attended the university. The biggest group, thirty nine, is composed of those teachers neither 'Mr' nor apparently university educated. The overall breakdown is as follows:

Figure Fifteen

Schoolmasters' Qualifications

		Mr/matric.	Mr/no matric.	Matric. only	Neither
Parish school	77	21	10	16	30
Grammar school	20	13	7	-	-
English school	19	2	4	4	9
	116	36	21	20	39

We have already noted that little reliance can be placed on the figures, but further doubt must be raised when one sees that of the twenty one parish schoolmasters, classed Mr and matriculated, nine were Scotts and Turnbills.

The only clear conclusions are, firstly, that the grammar school staff /

staff were regularly designated 'Mr' and the parish and English schools share a pattern of less than half of their numbers being 'Mr' and, secondly, that a higher proportion of grammar school staff appear on the University records than that of parish and English schoolmasters.

When recording the parochial schoolmasters entitled 'Mr' it became apparent that there were two 'bunches', one at the beginning of the century and one at the end. In fact of these thirty one masters, nine were in post before 1720 and nineteen were in post after 1770 (ten between 1791 and 1800). The bunches are maintained if one looks at the 'matched' group of twenty one of whom nine were in post before 1720 and eleven after 1770.

It is very tempting to conclude that in the middle half of the century parish schoolmasters did not have university education, that there was a slump in standards perhaps as the rewards of office became financially less rewarding. However that would not explain the upturn at the end of the century, but before the increase in salary for schoolmasters.

There is also the variation between the two sets of figures; the same nine schoolmasters are identified both as 'Mr' and as matriculated in the early part of the century, but there are only eleven matriculated of the nineteen 'Mr's' at the end. It could be that 'Mr' was used less strictly by the end of the century so that it referred not only to those who had been at university, but was more akin to modern usage. Certainly the number of parish schoolmasters not called 'Mr' declined throughout the century: twelve of forty six before 1720, six after 1770; or twenty nine in first half of century, and seventeen in second half.

In the sheriffs' returns of 1826 (PP 1826) seven of the pre-1803 parish schoolmasters were still in office. Six of these were designated 'Mr' according to the present survey, yet none of these six admitted in the return to teaching Latin. Indeed two of them referred to other schools in their parishes which did teach Latin. The picture is further confounded by the one 'non-Mr' who did claim to teach Latin. The matriculation criterion does not help either as four could have been at Edinburgh University, and three not.

In 1838 the schoolmasters were asked to answer certain queries, (PP 1841), one of which referred to the schoolmaster's own education. Two of our schoolmasters were still in post: Aitken of Crailing and Innes of Bedrule. Aitken was, according to our current criteria, called 'Mr', but was unlikely to have been at Edinburgh University; he was educated "in the parish and at Edinburgh" according to the Parliamentary Papers. Innes was 'Mr' and possibly matriculated in the terms of this research, but, by his own admission, his education took place at Kelso Grammar School. By 1838 'Mr' cannot have indicated a university education.

At the beginning of this section the drawbacks and limitations of the survey were indicated and further evidence has highlighted the weaknesses. What is evident, however, is that there is a difference between parish and grammar schoolmasters. The grammar schoolmasters and doctors have consistently been referred to as 'Mr', sixty five per cent of them could have attended Edinburgh University, both Jedburgh and Hawick are included in the 1690 lists of schoolmasters, and both were teaching Latin in 1826. The parish schoolmasters do not have such a record. Only forty per cent were referred /

referred to as 'Mr', forty nine per cent could have attended the university (twenty seven per cent if one restricts this to those designated 'Mr'), none are mentioned in the 1690 list and only Ancrum appears to have offered Latin in 1826.

Another important conclusion is that the parish schoolmasters in the middle of the century were unlikely to have had university education. The relaxation in the use of 'Mr' towards the end of the century blurs the impact of the second bulge, but bulge there was. This differs from Boyd's finding for Galston that the break point was in the middle of the century: University educated teachers before 1750, none afterwards.

It is impossible to find a satisfactory explanation for this. Boyd (1961) suggested that university trained teachers stayed for shorter periods. There might, therefore, have been a big turnaround of such teachers at the end of the century, but unfortunately an examination of the Roxburgh figures doesn't support that. The distribution of teachers over the whole period of study is quite regular so that it wasn't just that there were more names at the later time. The economic argument was discounted earlier in that the substantial salary increase did not come until 1803. There had been some local increases in the 1780s as indicated in Chapter 4(iii)a, but it would be surprising if they had had such a significant impact.

Finally, although it is not the intention to suggest that Latin was not taught by parish schoolmasters, it was very rare. The evidence shows that, while a university education and teaching Latin were generally characteristics of the burgh grammar school-
:masters /

masters for the period under study, they were the exception for the parish schoolmasters.

Teaching Latin could not, of course, be a requirement of the English schoolmaster, but on the other criteria, he was closer to the parish than the grammar schoolmaster. Indeed the figures would suggest that English schoolmasters were even less likely than the parish schoolmasters to have had a University education, but it would be quite improper to give any weight to such a conclusion.

5(ii) Careers - Parish Schoolmasters

Difficult as it is to establish the existence of a schoolmaster, it is even more difficult to assess the length of his service. In this study some eighty two schoolmasters have been identified, but for twenty of these there is only a single reference. Omitting these, we are left with a pattern of service as seen in Figure Sixteen. The years of service depend not upon any projections or estimates, but upon the period for which there is evidence of service; for only one third do we have actual dates of admission and demission. This means that most of these periods of service can be regarded as minima.

Figure Sixteen

Length of Service

<u>Years served</u>	<u>No. of schoolmasters</u>
0-2	6
3-5	10
6-10	14
11-15	9
16-20	3
21-25	4
26-30	3
31-35	6
36-40	3
41-45	1
46-50	0
51-55	1
56-60	2
	<hr/>
	62
	<hr/>

Little is known about ^hwere masters come from upon taking up their positions. Of the sixty two, we have no information for fifty three, except occasionally the village. Of the others, two had been /

been private tutors, two had been parish schoolmasters in the presbytery, one had been at Caerlanrig school and five had been in some other teaching position.

Slightly more is revealed about the reasons for their demission, though there are still thirty four without details. Eleven died, three were sacked, six went to other schools, and eight resigned (two with pension and two to go into some other business).

If one examines the individual cases more thoroughly some interesting patterns emerge about the mobility of teachers. Sometimes one can only guess that the same name refers to the same person. For example, a Walter Turnbull was at Wilton 1694-96, Minto 1718-26 and the Jedburgh English School 1737-47. It is conceivable that that refers to one and the same person, but there is no proof. Similarly a John Turnbull was sacked from Abbotrule in 1740, a John Turnbull had a year at the Jedburgh English School in 1739, and a John Turnbull was at Kirkton, 1743-46. Which, if either, of the first two was the third? Andrew Scott was at Kirkton 1787-95 and an Andrew Scott was at Cavers 1796-1805; probably the same because of the dates. William Moffat was at Crailing 1708 and at Eckford 1713-30; possibly the same because of the name. Similarly Robert Nicol was schoolmaster at Kirkton between 1716 and 1724 and a Robert Nicol was at Abbotrule in 1751; could be the same. However one can't be at all certain of these on the grounds of dates or names because Bedrule had a James Turnbull 1717 to 1733, but there were two people. The first resigned in 1717 to be followed in that year by someone of the same name. One has, therefore, to be cautious.

The /

The following cases can be verified:

Thomas Wilson	Caerlanrig to Kirkton
James Innes	Coldstream to Kirkton
	then, Kirkton to Bedrule
James Fraser	Eckford to Sprouston
John Clerk	Eckford to Jedburgh English School
James Turnbull	Crailing to Bedrule
William Leyden	Bedrule to Haddington English School
John Irvine	Southdean to Edinburgh
Patrick Smith	Private school to Ancrum
James Ker	Borrowtoun School, Northumberland to Bedrule
William Bell	Private Tutor to Bedrule
Robert Robson	Assistant, Crailing to Linton
Andrew Gardner	" " " Oxnam

It is difficult to make observations about how mobile teachers were, but one can note that it was not unusual for schoolmasters to move from one parish to another, although within a fairly limited geographical area. More interesting is the type of school; apart from the "promotion" from private school to parish school, almost all the movements are between parish schools, or parish school and English school in a town.

When we look at the unsuccessful candidates, the same position applies. We see private teachers, like James Weir of Kirkton, trying for the parish school, and the Caerlanrig teachers, for example Thomas Wilson and Robert Stewart, applying for parish schools. The Linton schoolmaster tried for Hounam, the Birgham schoolmaster for Eckford, etc.

Looking more closely at these four cases where there is evidence of movement from one parish school to another and the two parish schoolmasters /

schoolmasters who were unsuccessful candidates for a different parish post, one might speculate that the movement was from a smaller to a larger parish, but an examination of the respective populations does not bear this out. In only one case is the move to a significantly more populous parish and indeed in four cases the trend is quite definitely in the opposite direction. A bigger parish is, therefore, not the stimulus to move nor do the individual cases substantiate the view that elderly schoolmasters moved to smaller and less onerous parishes. Population size isn't a factor. There was, therefore, a fairly clear career pattern for the parochial schoolmaster within the parochial system, although we don't have grounds here to establish a hierarchy of parishes.

There are a few examples of teaching being "in the family", but not as many verified as might be projected from, for example, the large number of Scotts and Turnbells amongst the schoolmasters. At Southdean, David Turnbull was succeeded by his son Thomas; at Eckford, Richard Rutherford by son Robert; at Crailing Robert Aitken had son Mark as Assistant at Nisbet; at Cavers, James Oliver was succeeded by his son Ebenezer while another son Samuel was schoolmaster at Hobkirk. There was no father/son relationship between the two James Turnbells noted earlier at Bedrule which again highlights the need for caution.

What evidence that we have shows that teaching the parish school can be regarded as a career. Many schoolmasters held the post for long periods, a third of our sample over twenty years, that non-parish saw the parish post as something to strive for, that sons took after fathers, and that there was some mobility within the parish school sector.

What /

What is also striking is that, although we have information on just less than half of our sample, the parish school was not a stepping stone to something else. Of the twenty eight for whom we have details, twenty died, were sacked or moved to another school. Of the remaining eight, two were pensioned off, four resigned without reason, and only two clearly resigned to leave teaching: one to go full-time as a measurer and the other "owing to his being employed in other business".

5(iii) Careers - Burgh schoolmasters

Comparisons between the English Schools of Hawick and Jedburgh are difficult. We know of four masters at Hawick in the eighteenth century, two of whom served long periods (fifty and fifty-three years), but little is known of the other two. At Jedburgh we have some fifteen names, but, as there is a tradition of "conjoint" appointments, numbers by themselves are not helpful. Jedburgh's pattern shows that there was generally one stable member of the team who worked with several partners during his career, so that for three quarters of the century one of the two teachers had served for long periods. Three teachers had periods of service of between twenty and thirty years.

Two long-serving Hawick teachers covered sixty six years of the century, and including one other teacher of at least ten years service, Hawick had long-serving teachers for three quarters of the century. One can conclude, therefore, that generally the English schoolmasters held lengthy appointments, but that, as one might expect, after a long period of no change, there was some disruption before another period of stability returned.

Little is known of the English schoolmasters' existence prior to their taking up these posts: one came from Stow, one from Eckford, and Robert Chisholm had been doctor at the Grammar School. Two parish schoolmasters and one Grammar School doctor, but no details about any of the others apart from John Purdom who had been side tracked at the establishment of the Grammar School in Hawick.

Not much more is known about their careers upon leaving Jedburgh
or /

or Hawick: one died, two were dismissed, two resigned but without reason, one resigned as he was keeping a shop, one went to Temple School and one to the English School at Selkirk.

There are two cases where there are records concerning the selection of English teachers at Jedburgh in 1702 and 1793. Apart from the successful candidates, seven other names were given. Of three we know nothing, but two were given as schoolmasters elsewhere. Of the remaining two, one Robert Stewart may have been the teacher at Caerlanrig, and Richard Rutherford went to the parish school at Eckford from whence came the successful Jedburgh candidate.

These few details about the English teachers seem to carry similarities to the characteristics of the parish schoolmasters. There is some movement between different English schools and between English schools and parish schools. Also non-teachers were considered appropriate applicants for both posts. In addition it is interesting to note that in 1792 the Hawick English schoolmaster was involved in the appointment of the Wilton parish schoolmaster and in the following year the Oxnam parish schoolmaster was similarly involved in the appointment of the Jedburgh English schoolmaster.

Turning to Grammar Schools, a quite different picture emerges. The length of stay is similar; both Jedburgh and Hawick had three long-serving masters (twenty four, thirty two and thirty three years, and twenty, twenty five and twenty nine years respectively) covering the greater part of the century and then a number of short-lived appointments.

Fortunately /

Fortunately we have more information about the previous and subsequent careers of the grammar schoolmasters. Of the fourteen masters, only two appeared out of nowhere. Of the others, at Hawick, two were Divinity students, two were Grammar schoolmasters at Selkirk and one was schoolmaster at Haddington. At Jedburgh, masters included: the usher at Dalkeith Grammar School, the doctor at Dundee Grammar School, the schoolmaster at Dysart, the Hawick Grammar schoolmaster, a master from Glasgow Grammar School, and two had been Grammar Schoolmasters at Selkirk.

Their careers after serving at Hawick and Jedburgh were: one Hawick schoolmaster moved to Jedburgh, two became ministers, four died, four resigned without our knowing where they went, one retired with a pension, and of two we have no details.

The contrast between the Grammar schoolmasters and the parochial and English schoolmasters is quite remarkable. The Grammar schoolmasters all have been teaching or studying. Those who have been teaching have been in grammar schools, without exception, we can assume, since Haddington and Dysart were both burghs. When other posts are known to have been taken up upon leaving Jedburgh and Hawick, they were both in the Church, apart from Robert Chisholm who moved from Hawick to Jedburgh.

There do, therefore, appear to be two separate career patterns, one for the parish/English schools and one for Grammar schools. Parish/English schoolmasters moved within the parish/English school network, and to and from other occupations. Grammar schoolmasters moved exclusively within the ministry and Grammar school network.

Another /

Another distinctive feature is the different geographical spread of the two networks. Parish/English schoolmasters appear to move within Roxburghshire principally, but also beyond that as far as Edinburgh in the north and just over the Border in the other direction. It is a more local network than that of the Grammar schoolmasters which extended to Glasgow and Dundee though we have no examples of cross-Border movements.

For most of the eighteenth century, there were four Grammar schools in this part of the Scottish Borders: at Selkirk, Hawick, Jedburgh, and Kelso. None of the masters discovered had any connection with Kelso, but Selkirk seems very definitely to have been the nursery ground for the other two, perhaps because it was the smallest. James Brown came to Jedburgh from Selkirk in 1696, as did Robert Petrie in 1729. Robert Chisholm went to Hawick from Selkirk in 1718 as did William Dyce in 1746. This wasn't a phenomenon of the early years, because just beyond our period of study we can see that William Lorraine came to Jedburgh from Selkirk in 1804 (and he moved on ten years later to Glasgow High School). Robert Chisholm, of course, moved from Selkirk to Hawick and then to Jedburgh.

5(iv) Discussion

Schoolmasters' careers have been given little prominence in the history of Scottish education. There is little material directly comparable with that presented above. Some attention has been given to whether the teachers attended university, but otherwise only general statements appear, for example "Quite often, at least until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the man who filled the post of parochial schoolmaster had the ministry as his real ambition, and devoted most of his energies towards attaining a charge" (Cooper, 1973, p.12).

That is modified slightly by Harding (1975, p.492); "The eighteenth century schoolmaster in Perthshire was in no way different from his colleagues in other parts of the country. Many were strenuously striving for a better post and a higher remuneration ... Others were anxious to better themselves by entering the ministry, and many did so." However he merely identifies two schoolmasters who have moved amongst parishes in the presbytery and two who have become ministers. Stephenson (1973, p.6 and p.29) noted that doctors of the Dundee Grammar School came from landward parishes, private schools, one from a neighbouring Grammar School and one was a student, while the English schoolmasters had been landward schoolmasters, private teachers and schoolmasters from outside the town.

These more detailed remarks support the conclusions from Roxburghshire, that there tended to be two separate networks. A quick survey of Grant, Simpson, Elliot, Law, Bain, Stephenson, Harding, Russell and Boyd revealed fifty cases of teachers or candidates whose /

whose previous appointments are known and some two thirds of these fit the two network theory. Seven cases are unclear and ten are quite out of line. Of these ten, one was a nonteacher, an excise officer in fact, who was an unsuccessful candidate for Kirkcudbright Burgh School and one was a private teacher in Edinburgh moving to the High School. More directly, there were two Divinity students becoming parish schoolmasters, two parish schoolmasters becoming ministers and four parish schoolmasters moving to Grammar schools.

Bain (1965, p77) claims that Stirling Grammar schoolmasters were "for the most part dedicated teachers, not embryonic ministers." This supports Beale's finding in Fife that the grammar schoolmasters were, unlike the doctors, neither divinity students nor expectants. On the other hand Beale clearly found that parish schoolmasters were in the latter category.

It would appear, therefore, that one cannot make general statements about the eighteenth century schoolmaster and the ministry; indeed one perhaps ought to avoid making general statements about the eighteenth century schoolmaster. There may not be two quite separate networks as evinced by the situation in Roxburghshire, but there are two distinct career patterns: one for parish and English schoolmasters and one for burgh and grammar schoolmasters. Just as the types of school did not fall into exclusive categories so the two networks were not completely independent of each other, but there are distinguishing features supported by evidence beyond Roxburghshire. The parish/English school network could be open to private teachers and to other occupations, and there was movement from it to other occupations. The burgh/grammar school network appears to be the locus of the aspirant minister in Roxburghshire, /

Roxburghshire, but not elsewhere. Nevertheless the network does support movement within it from school to school and the promotion of ushers and doctors to masters. Furthermore there is clear distinction between burgh and parochial masters with regard to college education.

Another characteristic of the networks concerned the geographical location. In the Jedburgh area it looked as if the parish/English school network was more local. In his study, of Galston schoolmasters, Boyd (1961) noted that those who had taught previously had taught in Ayrshire, but Stephenson (1973) found that, while some of the English schoolmasters in Dundee had been private teachers and landward teachers, others came from outside the town and he lists Peebles, Montrose and Glasgow as antecedents.

Grant (1876) gives a number of examples of long distance moves in the burgh/grammar school network: for example Tranent to Ayr, Dunbar to Dundee, Perth to Crail, Haddington to Dundee. Law (1965) cites occasional movements, but they tend to be within Edinburgh and its immediate environs, for example Leith and Dalkeith. It may well be that Edinburgh was a sufficiently populous area to sustain a network of its own, separate from that of the smaller burghs.

Certainly there is not enough evidence to make clear assertions about the geographical spread, but although there is some conflicting material, for example Stephenson, there is insufficient to suggest that the Roxburghshire finding is out of line with the rest of Scotland.

The use of newspaper advertisements could be an indicator of from where applicants could be expected to come. Grant (1876) notes the first use at Kirkcaldy in 1706 and the examples are more numerous by the middle of the century. The Roxburgh evidence follows this. The Hawick grammar schoolmaster was nominated, but the Jedburgh master underwent a competitive process and the first Jedburgh advertisement was in 1734. The first use of newspapers for parochial posts didn't come until the 1790s in Roxburghshire; 1792 Wilton, 1794 Crailing, 1799 Kirkton. This would appear to be another fragment to support the geographical argument.

Lastly, an indication of the length of service was given for Roxburghshire teachers. Half of those parochial masters for whom there is more than one reference have more than ten years service in one post and indeed a third have more than twenty years. Even if one includes the twenty single references as being in the range 0-2 years of service, there is still a quarter of the parochial schoolmasters with over twenty years of service in one post. The burgh schools of Hawick and Jedburgh show a conflicting picture. One third of grammar school masters have over twenty years service, but only one fifth of English schoolmasters have over ten years. As suggested earlier, there was still comparable continuity in the two types of burgh school, but there were many more short -stay English teachers.

To some extent this is supported by the comment on the Dundee Grammar School by Stephenson (1973, p.6): "Headmasters generally remained for a considerable space ...; assistants tended to move much more frequently". This is also supported by Beale (1983) who /

who notes many long periods of office in the Fife burgh schools, and by Smith (1909) referring to Kelso Grammar School, but it is contradicted by the implication of Boyd (1961) with regard to the Galston parish that the masters did not stay long. However, interpreting Boyd's evidence generally, it looks as if a quarter of his sample could have had service of ten years or more.

The pattern seems similar for both networks. A significant minority of teachers identified have lengthy periods of service so that for most of the century the schools were served by long-serving masters. The overall condition is, therefore, of stability even if there were short periods of flux and much coming and going. Boyd (1961) also indicates that there was a change in the second half of the century, that there was more stability and long service after 1750. The Roxburghshire evidence does not reveal that and it may have been a particular feature of Galston dependent upon unknown factors.

The principal difficulties with the Roxburghshire evidence concern the less qualified parochial schoolmasters of the mid century, the increase in the college-educated toward the end, and the aspirant ministers being among the burgh masters rather than the parish masters. These features seem to be at variance with the other available evidence. It is not that the notion of the two networks is negated by that other evidence, but rather that there are these features which set Roxburghshire somewhat apart. It may be that standards in Roxburghshire were lower than elsewhere and, if one ascribes a higher status in general to the grammar school network than to the parish school, one could suggest that whereas the parish schoolmaster may have had the ministry in mind, in /

in Roxburghshire he was less well-educated so that these aspirations were more a part of the career model of his seniors, the grammar schoolmasters.

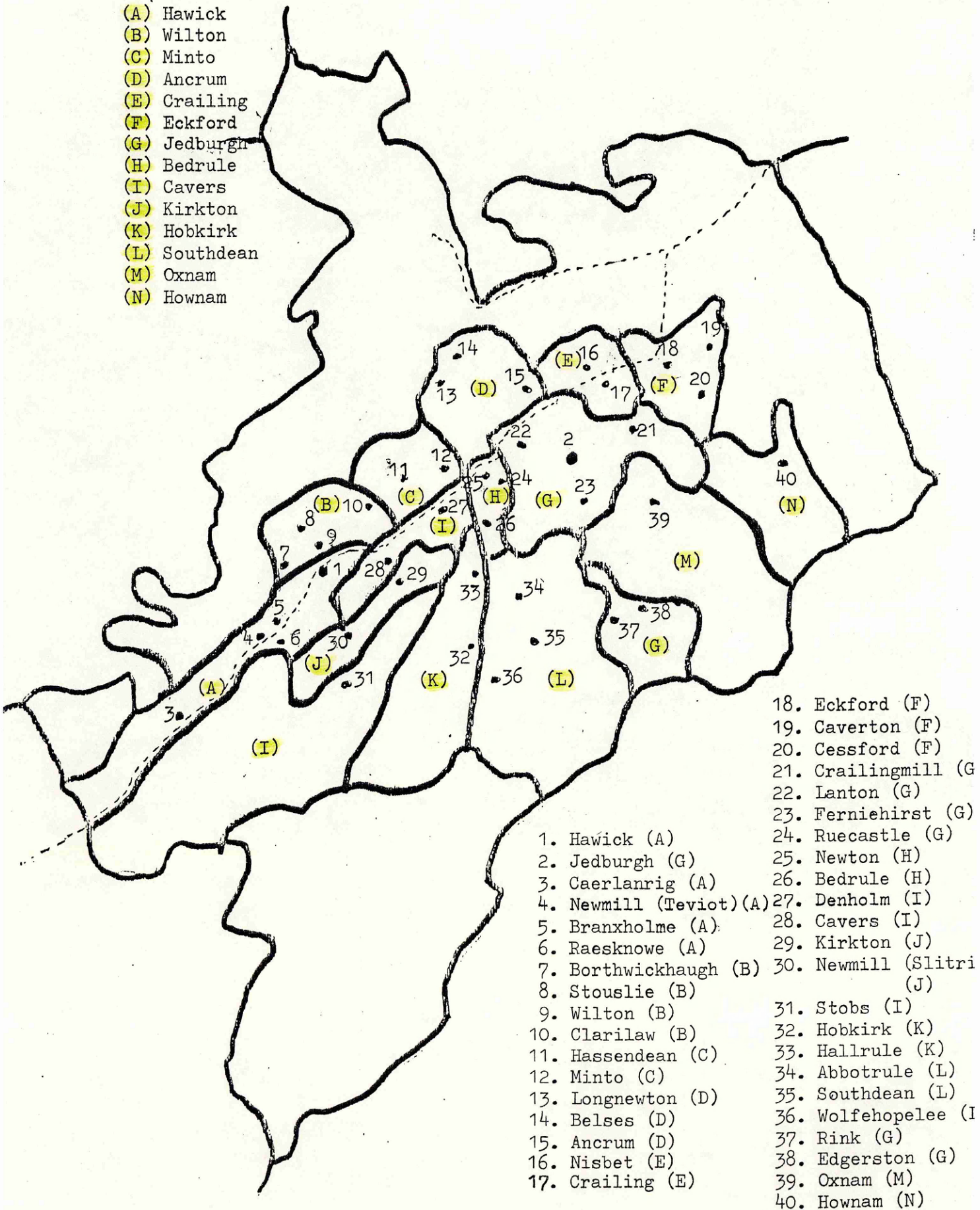
Such a tentative explanation is not possible for the upturn in the college-educated at the end of the century. Withrington (1970 (i)), has put forward as one reason for the 1803 Act the lack of properly qualified masters. It may be that the increase in Roxburghshire is more apparent than real, or it may be that Roxburghshire was indeed different and that it had developed more slowly towards a better educated teaching force. What did not result from this apparent improvement was any change in the curriculum. We noted in Chapter 4(iv) that Latin was not available in the rural schools at the end of the century and the position was little better by 1826.

There are, therefore, some anomalies in the findings with regard to the qualifications and careers of schoolmasters in the Presbytery of Jedburgh, but there is clear evidence for two networks and two career tracks are discernible. In both, the length of service was often substantial; teaching was not merely a means to something else.

FIGURE SEVENTEEN

SCHOOL LOCATIONS

- (A) Hawick
- (B) Wilton
- (C) Minto
- (D) Ancrum
- (E) Crailing
- (F) Eckford
- (G) Jedburgh
- (H) Bedrule
- (I) Cavers
- (J) Kirkton
- (K) Hobkirk
- (L) Southdean
- (M) Oxnam
- (N) Hownam



Chapter Six

Private Teachers

In an earlier chapter we noted how Law (1965) argued for the burgh schools being as much a part of the Scottish tradition as the parish schools. Beale (1955, p.8) took the parish and burgh schools together as the public schools and underlined the importance of another category, the adventure schools. Beale was referring to the seventeenth century, but in that century, and certainly the next, there was educational provision from more than these three categories. In this chapter we shall examine all provision which was not publicly financed and which was not under the patronage of the minister and the heritors and/or the burgh council.

Earlier historians had tended to concentrate on the formal private education so that we see even in Simpson (1947) a long chapter on schools managed by religious bodies and a shorter chapter to cover academies, subscription schools, adventure schools, girls' schools, infant schools and schools of industry. Part of the explanation for the earlier approach arises from the sources used. The formal records contain information about the schools established by the formal bodies; the S.S.P.C.K. initiatives are well documented and therefore, well known, as are the spinning schools of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures. Even endowed schools were clearly recognised because, very often, the deed of mortification was on record. Schools run by churches other than the Church of Scotland were also known to exist, but their contribution is better known for the nineteenth century when their records become more numerous. It was only when the parish records were explored in detail that evidence /

evidence of the adventure schools surfaced. The nineteenth century reports showed that they existed then in very large numbers and the picture was of a dramatic increase in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century with the population increase and beginning of the industrial revolution. The public system could not cope, the formal private schools could not meet the need, and hence the expansion of the independent adventure schools.

Having recognised the form of provision, historians have been at pains to explore its contribution. Beale, as we have seen, showed that the adventure schools were important as far back as the seventeenth century so that they were not an eighteenth century phenomenon. The 1803 Act had allowed for additional parish schools so that there certainly had been underprovision by the public system, but the local studies following Beale brought forth much supporting evidence of private efforts. Boyd (1961, p.79) quotes examples from the beginning of the eighteenth century and states that by the end of the century probably twice as many pupils in Ayrshire were educated in private schools as in parish and burgh schools. Law (1965, p.144) had shown that private schools were well established in Edinburgh in the eighteenth century and were, in fact, an integral part of the educational provision.

The extent of the provision has been explored in two ways. Beale (1983) and Bain (1965) in particular have taken population figures to examine, at least from 1755, the numbers of children in parishes, and therefore the potential demand. These studies show clearly that the legal provision was inadequate even at 1755 and that private provision was probably common. Bain (1974, p.131) recorded no legal schoolmaster in Torphichen at the beginning of the eighteenth /

eighteenth century, but felt able to report "though their presence is not recorded there were probably adventure schools in the parish ...". The private provision has also been found to be very varied in terms of the subjects and the level at which they were taught. Law's study of Edinburgh probably opened up this line of thinking and although he asserts, rightly, that Edinburgh was different from other parts of Scotland, Stephenson (1973) has shown that Dundee offered similar opportunities.

Law's study also broke new ground by showing how the private schools of the eighteenth century were often recognised as playing a part within the overall provision of education. The older view, (for example Grant, 1876) had depicted the public schools as being defensive of their rights. The formal records certainly showed the acts of councils and presbyteries protecting the burgh or parish school from adventures and this, of course, was in line with the view that adventure schools were vigorously obstructed by the authorities until the late eighteenth century when the dam burst and the legal schools were out of their depth.

Law (p.144) quotes an example of a grant given to a private teacher by the council in 1694. In fact, this is a salary of one hundred merks per annum (the minimum under the repealed 1646 Act and the later 1696 Act) and on his retiral the master was given a sum of money and possibly a pension. This could be interpreted more as an example of a private teacher becoming a burgh teacher, but Law does bring forward sufficient further examples to substantiate his view and he states (p.146) that "after about 1724 the Town Council did not insist at anytime that all private teachers should be licensed". Boyd (1961, p.79) states that in Ayrshire "the aim of /

of the towns was to maintain the monopoly of their schools by the prohibition of unauthorised teachers", but he goes on to indicate that this attitude was not universal: "In the landward areas ministers and sessions sought rather to control than to prohibit, and were even ready at times to encourage private ventures in the remoter districts".

Harding (1975, pp.299-300) found in Perthshire that "a great deal of attention of the Kirk Session was taken up by attempts to protect the legal schoolmaster from private venture teachers", but also that "extensive parishes had no option but to encourage private schools as the cheapest way of providing more schools". The answer must be that the attitude to private teaching in the eighteenth century was entirely pragmatic; they could be obstructed, ignored, tolerated or encouraged. How they were regarded was, according to Smout (1972, p.426), "modified by pressure of events".

Having established the existence and indeed the status of the private schools, historians have now given deeper analysis to the place of the private school in eighteenth century Scotland. Withrington (1970(ii), p.192) argues that the expansion of the curriculum was basically to do with economics; "in both schools and universities, throughout the century, the elemental challenge of their teachers' declining incomes was the greatest stimulus of all to a rethinking of their educational aims and practice". The public schoolmaster's income was increased by the introduction of a wider curriculum, the new subjects of which could be made more expensive than the old classical curriculum, and the university teacher was challenged by the academies which could appear more attractive to potential students. However within his argument, Withrington /

Withrington acknowledges the private enterprise in Glasgow and Edinburgh and also that the academies although 'public' in some senses were really subscription institutions in comparison with the traditional parochial and burgh schools. It is not surprising, therefore, that O'Day (1982, p.233) can argue that although some of the new private provision had to be seen in the light of the population increase "nevertheless it cannot be denied that the sort of education offered was geared to the needs of a society absorbed with commercial activity".

Thus private schools have emerged from the obscurity which their informality and impermanence created. The significance of their numbers has become apparent, their relationship with the public school authorities has been revealed and now their importance in curricular and developmental terms is being explored.

Law (1965) found much of his information about private teachers from newspaper advertisements, but in the rural parts of the countryside that situation didn't exist. It is, therefore, difficult to bring the private teachers of Roxburghshire out of the obscurity. Appendix 3(iii) lists the seventy or so names that have come forward, but there are at least another forty references to unnamed private teachers. Parochial schoolmasters are often only identified because appointment and salary issues brought them on to official records. Private teachers, especially adventure teachers, were not appointed in the same way and their income was composed of fees from individual pupils, so that their existence is revealed only by chance. The principal source of data is the session minutes when someone other than the parish schoolmaster /

schoolmaster was paid for teaching poor pupils. For the majority we have only a fleeting glimpse, resulting in a single year at their names, and the sources are varied: for example, one's daughter had had an affair with a dragoon; one was paying window tax; one was a witness before the presbytery; one's house was swept away in flood; two were on a list of subscribers to an addition to the Kirk.

There is very little that can be taken from this study of Roxburghshire to add to the argument about the role of private schools in the new curriculum. It would appear that most were teaching the three Rs, and even perhaps only reading, with some sewing for the girls. Mary Robertson approached the Jedburgh council in 1786 for a small annual salary as she had begun a school to teach needlework, but there is no indication of a decision. She was, however, still teaching in 1802 when Somerville, the Jedburgh minister, reported to the presbytery on the state of schools in his parish. Two other ladies were also teaching reading and sewing in 1802. Apart from that there is only Mr. Flintuff who taught dancing. He used the town house in Jedburgh in 1769 and was using the Hawick council house in 1787 for the rent of ten shillings per month. In that year the Hawick franchise was transferred to a Mr. Turnbull who was still in occupation in 1789.

In the section on curricular issues in chapter 4, church music became a regular subject as the century progressed and it was on the curriculum at Caerlanrig, but the Caerlanrig school was a more formal institution than most in this section.

In 1705 and 1706 the Presbytery was expressing concern about the "desolate state of the Highlands" in the parishes of Hawick, Cavers and Kirkton. All three parishes included remote areas in the south-west corner of the county, but no positive action was recorded by the presbytery to alleviate the concern. In 1719 the people of Callendrick Chapel petitioned the Presbytery for a supply preacher until they could find a young man to settle. Similar pleas were made in 1722 and 1738. (Carlenrigg, Carlen-ridge and Callendrick are three of the variants for what is now known as Caerlanrig.)

By April 1755 the Synod and Presbytery were being approached by the people "who hear the sermon" at Caerlanrig who desired a schoolmaster. Whether they had acquired a permanent preacher is unclear nor is there evidence as to whether petitions had been made at parish level as the Cavers minutes do not begin until 1758. It was suggested that the General Assembly be asked to seek aid from the Royal Bounty or from the S.S.P.C.K. The Presbytery also wrote to the Marquis of Lothian, the President of the S.S.P.C.K., and indeed Somerville of Jedburgh addressed the Directors directly (GD95/2/7). The Assembly discussed the matter, recommended it to the S.S.P.C.K., and by July the Society had agreed to build a school at Caerlanrig, and support it with £4 per annum, which was increased to £6 the following year (CH2/265/4).

Arthur Elliot was the first schoolmaster, but he resigned in 1757. His replacement Thomas Wilson stayed until 1761 when he was appointed as the parish schoolmaster in Kirkton. John Pott (1762-63) and Robert Stewart followed Wilson.

The Society required the Presbytery to visit the school to make an "annual tryal" to ensure that the schoolmaster deserved his salary, and the records show that these visitations did take place. There are also some of the annual reports made by the schoolmaster. In Chapter 4 we examined one of these which gave very full details about the curriculum, levels within subjects, pupils' progress and pupils' ages. The Presbytery also had the responsibility of examining candidates for the post and making a recommendation to the Society. For example, there were four candidates examined when Elliot was appointed, and one of them, Wilson, was appointed upon Elliot's resignation. In 1763 there were three candidates, all were found satisfactory by the presbytery and one recommended to the Society. The examination covered reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic and church music.

In the Presbytery minutes of 1767 it was recorded that the Society had informed the Presbytery that the school at Caerlanrig would no longer be financed.

The Presbytery expressed concern and resolved to inform all relevant parties, and no further discussion regarding Caerlanrig took place again.

The Presbytery papers do, however, contain various letters relating to Caerlanrig. In 1758 there was a letter from the S.S.P.C.K. announcing that they were cutting back on funds and that schools with a roll of less than thirty five would no longer be supported (CH2/198/36/6/III). Caerlanrig was not affected so it must have had the required population. In 1765 there is a copy of the letter from the S.S.P.C.K. to Stewart renewing his annual contract, but it /

it has a cryptic postscript: "There are particular reasons why the making up of this year's scheme was so long delayed" (CH2/198/36/5/VI). No doubt the decision to withdraw support was coming under discussion.

The only reference to Caerlanrig in the parish records is, on two occasions 1759-60, of repairs being made (CH2/1118/1). The Cavers entry in the Statistical Account notes that Carlenrigg Chapel is in the parish, but says nothing of schools. Neither does the Hawick entry in the Statistical Account nor the presbyterial visitations reports of the 1790s. The post-1803 settlement at Hawick gave fifty merks to the school at Caerlanrig (HR495/1) which is confirmed by the answers to the Sheriff (PP 1826) and supported by the Buccleuch estate at least from 1817 (GD224/527). The Cavers response of 1826 states that one hundred and fifty merks went to a second school which also received fifty merks from Hawick so that it would appear that the Caerlanrig schoolmaster received a salary of two hundred merks after the 1803 Act. Caerlanrig later in the nineteenth century was the home of Roxburgh's most unusual private teacher, the negro, Tom Jenkins, whose circumstances are told by Kennedy (1870(ii)) and others.

What happened at Caerlanrig between 1767 and 1803 is just speculation, but it may well be that, since the school was apparently thriving at both dates, it had a continued existence and when additional parochial schools were encouraged by the 1803 Act it was given a proper salary.

Such an explanation would suggest that the Society withdrew its support /

support because the school looked as if it could support itself. The report by the schoolmaster in 1767 had given the roll as forty nine. The Society's records throw little light upon the problem. A register of schools for 1710-61 makes no mention of a school in Roxburghshire (GD95/9/1) although a list of schools in 1757 refers to Carlenridge (GD95/13/23). In August 1766, it was noted that the Society's expenditure was exceeding its income so that we must assume that the Society dropped its support for Caerlanrig the following year because of its financial problems, but it is likely that Caerlanrig was singled out because, with a roll of forty nine, it was in a healthy condition.

A more conspiratorial hypothesis might surround the role of the Marquis of Lothian. He was a prominent Roxburghshire heritor and patron, had been President of the S.S.P.C.K. since 1738, and was approached by the presbytery in 1755. He was not at the meeting addressed by Somerville, but that would not prevent his opinion from being known and, indeed, he attended no Directors' meetings from 1754 until his death which took place in 1767, just after the cessation of funds to Caerlanrig. Perhaps Caerlanrig lost out because its sponsors' influence was waning.

Interestingly enough the Marquis was involved at this same period in another dispute which we noted earlier in Chapter 4 about the legal schoolmaster of Crailing. That matter was before the presbytery in the early 1750s, but had disappeared, though unresolved, by the time the Caerlanrig proposal came forward. Then the Crailing affair burst again in the early 1760s and was resolved in 1765 just before the Caerlanrig school was cut off. It is not being /

being suggested that there is a direct relationship between the two matters other than the involvement of the Marquis of Lothian, but it must have caused much tension, at the very least, to have such a major figure defying the church, presbytery and General Assembly, in one case and lending support to the presbytery's petition in another. It is not even that the Marquis could be perhaps unaware of actions taken upon his behalf by agents because he himself was present at the presbytery in the early 1750s and in the late 1750s he was very involved in the movement to keep Boston out of Jedburgh.

If Caerlanrig was one example of a formal private school then the school at Nisbet, so strongly defended by the Marquis, is another. The dispute is detailed in Chapter 4; the Nisbet school, in the parish of Crailing, had been supported by the Marquis as the sole heritor of the region, the old parish of Nisbet, and after a long debate about the parochial school it was resolved in 1764 that the Nisbet teacher should be given fifty merks per annum, from the parish schoolmaster's salary of one hundred and fifty merks, and should be given a house by the Marquis and maintained by him also. At 1803 the Crailing salary went up to four hundred merks, out of which his Nisbet assistant still received only fifty merks. In 1822 the then Marquis and his tenants took over the salary (PP 1826) so that by 1838 it was listed as a non-parochial school (PP1841).

The S.S.P.C.K.-controlled Caerlanrig and the post-1764 Nisbet schools both had quite rigorous selection procedures. The S.S.P.-C.K. delegated their powers to the presbytery who undertook the annual /

annual visitation and examined candidates for the vacant posts as we noted earlier. The Nisbet post was in the hands of the heritors and minister as if it were a parish post and as one might imagine there was particular attention paid to the 1765 vacancy. No candidates appeared at the first time of asking (June 1765) so a further call was made for the next meeting when the minister was to invite neighbouring clergy to help examine the candidates. Only one candidate appeared, Andrew Gardner, well recommended with regard to moral character and teaching ability, and, as two other ministers were present, he was examined in "reading prose and verse, spelling and the rules concerning it, writing copy and current hands, Arithmetic, vulgar and decimal fractions". Gardner was elected by a majority of three to two with Lord Cranston's factor still protesting.

It was at meetings such as these that the small heritor, John Riccaulton, 'created' by the Marquis was so important. He balanced the heritor factions giving the minister the deciding vote and as the minister and the session were owed money by Lord Cranston the Marquis tended to have the upper hand. Riccaulton was 'promoted' in October 1763; between then and the end of 1766 he missed five parish meetings but was present at nineteen.

Gardner resigned in 1768 to be schoolmaster at Oxnam. Interested candidates were to "give in their testimonials and specimens of their qualifications" to the minister by the next meeting. Three candidates appeared: Adam Smith from Lanton, Jedburgh, Walker Scott from Robertson and Robert Robson, Oxnam. All expressed willingness to sign etc., then were examined one by one by those present /

present, the minister, heritors and schoolmaster, in "Reading prose and verse, Spelling and rules thereof, writing copy and current hand and some of the higher as well as the lower parts of Arithmetic". All were found to be suitable and permitted to receive a minute to that effect from the clerk. The meeting decided to choose the candidate "whose recommendations and performances afford the best prospect of benefit to the children at Nisbet School and satisfaction to all concerned". Walter Scott was elected unanimously and promised to start the following week.

Scott died in 1771 and Robert Robson who had been a candidate in 1768 and who had been teaching in Nisbet since Scott's death was elected unanimously. He had been found satisfactory previously and had taught satisfactorily "in several places" in the last three years. He was examined again in the three Rs.

Eight years later Robson resigned to go to Linton as schoolmaster. Again three candidates appeared, Robert Hislop, David Aitken, William Bell. Candidates agreed to sign, testimonials were read, individual examination in subjects listed for 1768, all found suitable. Hislop was unanimously elected "his experience in teaching youth being of some standing" (HR202/2). Great play was made of the salary at Nisbet as there had been disquiet from the Nisbet quarter about the mere fifty merks. At the meeting the past decisions were read out and it was also made clear that the other parish emoluments, for example from heritors' and session clerkships, were not tied to the parish schoolmastership, but to the person. That meant that the Nisbet teacher was not entitled to /

to a proportion of these moneys.

In October 1794 Hislop resigned. This time an advertisement was to be placed three times in the Kelso papers. By May the following year, Thomas Douglas was teaching at Nisbet and was agreeable to the tenants. He was put on trial for a year and, if found to be satisfactory, he'd be legally installed. There was, however, no note of his permanent appointment.

The records reveal a continuing tension between the folk of Nisbet and those of Crailing. The meagre fifty merks of salary was obviously a bone of contention. On the other side, the Crailing schoolhouse, the parish one, was often in disrepair as the Nisbet contribution was slow to appear. (The Nisbet school was maintained by the Nisbet side only.) The introduction in the 1795 election of the notion that 'being agreeable to the tenants' was an appropriate criterion appears to have been a positive step away from the previous, but unnecessary, practice of employing the full parochial procedure for appointments to this assistantship. However the failure to increase the fifty merks after 1803 is evidence that the tension had not disappeared and it is not surprising that the Marquis and his tenants opted out in 1822.

The Nisbet school is not classed here as a parochial school because its building was not maintained by the heritors of the parish and Caerlanrig is not parochial because the heritors bore no responsibility. In other respects, however, these two schools were very similar to parish schools. We have noted that the appointment procedure was similar, but also the schoolmasters were part of /

of the parish school network described in the previous chapter in that they applied for an^d gained parish schoolmasterships.

These two studies reveal different approaches and different origins, but their intent is the same, the local provision of schooling. There is no evidence that they offered anything different from the parish schools, merely that they operated where the parish schools did not. That indeed typifies the provision offered by private teachers in Roxburghshire. The one other possible motivation would be religion, or, specifically, belonging to some church other than the Church of Scotland. There is evidence that there was a Quaker school run by Jean and Sarah Stagg in Jedburgh at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Miller, 1910) and John Leyden went in 1788 to a "Secondary School at Denholm, with six or eight pupils, taught by the Reverend James Duncan, the Cameronian minister" (Reith, n.d.). There must, however, have been quite a few teachers for the Dissenters, but, of course, they don't feature as teaching poor scholars in the minutes of the Auld Kirk.

The Boston secession in the 1750s was undertaken by the majority of the population of Jedburgh so that even Somerville could admit that this "ordinary hearers were not numerous". By the 1790s there were still ten dissenters for every four members of the Church of Scotland (O.S.A., Jedburgh) and, in his 1802 report to the presbytery, Somerville identifies fifteen teachers in the parish. Two were the burgh grammar and English schoolmasters, but the remainder were private, and seven of them were dissenters with just over half of the total number of pupils according to Somerville's estimates. The presbyterial visitation of Jedburgh in 1796 referred /

referred to only one private school in the town, but several in the landward part. If that report was accurate there must have been an increase of private teachers between 1796 and 1802 because nine of those mentioned in 1802 appear to be within the town. The Statistical Account gives large numbers of dissenters in other parishes: twenty two per cent of the population in Eckford, fifteen per cent in Kirkton, and "numerous" in Wilton. All of these are likely to have had private teachers who were dissenters and certainly another parish, Ancrum, had one at Longnewton, but there are no further details. The Associate congregation in Jedburgh (arising from the 1733 Secession under Erskine) has records dating from 1761 (CH3/350), but they hold nothing on education. Unfortunately the records of Boston's Relief Church (CH3/351) begin only in 1816, although one must assume that, given the numbers that went with Boston and the inclusion of the former English schoolmaster, Chisholm, who became precentor and session clerk of the new congregation, schooling was provided from an early date.

Local provision, therefore, is the principal stimulus for the private teacher and, following Caerlanrig and Crailing, the locations are where there is a need because of a sizeable population or a need because of historical factors. Ancrum annexed the old parish of Longnewton in the seventeenth century and the private teachers were all based in that area, either at Longnewton or at Belses, which are a mile apart and both about three or four miles from Ancrum. The payments for poor scholars there occur between 1719 and 1746, but then there is a gap until 1797 from whence there are regular payments through to 1803. In 1826 there were schools recorded at both Belses and Longnewton, the former surviving on /

on fees and the latter with a small salary (two hundred merks) given by a heritor and with an existence of 'upwards of fifty years' (PP1826). The New Statistical Account talks of an endowed school at Longnewton retaining its provision from its days as a parochial school, and it gives that provision as £11 per annum. It is not known whether or not that provision (representing the maximum parochial salary in the 1680s) was maintained, but it is likely that there was provision at, or near, Longnewton in the eighteenth century, perhaps irregularly, and perhaps endowed, but not recognised by the heritors after the 1803 Act.

Bedrule was a fairly compact parish, indeed quite small by Roxburgh standards, only four miles long by two to three wide. Yet it too appeared to have had two centres of population: Bedrule itself in the centre of the parish and Newton two miles away at the northern end. The seven references to a private teacher are all at Newton (or Ruecastle, a farm near Newton) between 1691 and 1759. Cavers, in contrast, was a large parish in two parts with the southern section, some twenty miles long and up to seven wide. Caerlanrig, which we have already mentioned, was at its southern end. Kirby (1965) refers to a school at Stobs, about 1802, about five or six miles from Cavers, but the other references are to teachers in Denholm. By the time of the New Statistical Account, Denholm is described as 'the main village' in the parish and if Lockhart (1983) is correct it was developing as a 'planned' village in the 1790s. There are several references in the second half of the eighteenth century to payments for teaching poor scholars at Denholm and we have read earlier of the Cameronian teacher. The most interesting aspect of how this large parish coped is examined in /

in Chapter 8; Cavers parish paid schoolmasters in neighbouring parishes for teaching the Cavers poor.

Crailling had the second school at Nisbet already mentioned, but the records show no others. The 'memoir of the author', however, in Balmer (1845) states that Robert Balmer went first to a school in Crailling parish 'taught by a female' in the 1790s and then to a school at Crailling Mill (which was probably in Jedburgh parish). As Balmer became Professor of Systematic Theology to the United Secession Church, it is possible that these private schools were attached to Burgher or Anti-burgher congregations.

Eckford had three schoolmasters being paid in 1700 and it would appear that these three sites were supplied off and on for the century. The parish school was Eckford itself, but Cessford and Caverton, both about two and a half miles from Eckford, are recorded as having teachers paid for poor scholars early and late in the century. In Chapter 4 we noted that there was a dispute in Eckford in the 1740s about the site of the parish school and Caverton was agitating again for a school in 1782. It was supplied in 1794 at the time of a presbytery visitation when Cessford was reported often to have a school, but not currently. The 1803 settlement made provision for a second parish teacher, but that was not implemented until 1820 when Caverton received a salary of two hundred merks, but Cessford had to continue on fees alone (PP1826 and PP1841).

Kirkton too suffered from a problem of where to site the parish school. Up to the mid-1750s it appears that the parish schoolmaster had operated at Newmill, about three or four miles south-west /

west of Kirkton, and that he had also been session clerk. However, in the late 1750s someone else is referred to as session clerk. Also in 1760 the presbytery noted that the schoolmaster at Kirkton did not reside nor teach near the church "and may not be legally chosen". A miscellaneous paper in the presbytery records, dated 1763, throws some further light on the matter by noting that James Weir was schoolmaster at Newmill on the Slitrig, that he was "servant and schoolmaster to Gilbert Elliot" and may not therefore be parish schoolmaster (CH2/198/26/5/V). Weir was recorded as poor collector in 1760 and was a candidate for the vacancy in the parish school in 1761.

Untangling the various strands leads one to conclude that the parish schoolmaster had been under the patronage of Gilbert Elliot for some time, that his 'man' had held all the parish posts, and that he had operated from Newmill. At some time in the 1750s the church posts had been removed and given to someone based at Kirkton and then the legality of tenure of the previous parish schoolmasters was questioned. Weir was deemed to be the employee of the heritor and therefore a private teacher. In the 1761 election the other candidate was chosen and from this point in time that other candidate, Thomas Wilson, would appear to have been the stronger candidate professionally (he was prepared to teach church music), and he had been schoolmaster at Caerlanrig so was well known to the presbytery, but also by not appointing Weir, the heritors brought the parish school beside the church at Kirkton. That is where it stayed even though there were representations in 1797 to move it to other parts of the parish.

What happened in Wilton is a little confusing. There is only one early /

early reference to a private teacher, in 1722 at Borthwickhaugh. Thomson (1875) wrote that his father attended a school at Stouslea (Stouslie) in the late 1780s and early 1790s. The Statistical Account, 1791, mentions two village schools and the presbytery was informed in 1795 that there was one private school. A subscription list of 1801 gives two people described as teachers, but neither are at locations already mentioned. The 1803 settlement gives one hundred merks each to schoolmasters at Clarilaw and Priestrig. The 1826 return refers to the private schools (PP1826) and the 1841 return refers to two parochial schools at Stouslie and Clarilaw established in the 1780s (PP1841).

It would appear, therefore, that the 1841 account is probably accurate; there were in the nineteenth century two side schools probably based upon schools of the late eighteenth century. The unusual feature of this case is that, although there are session records for various parts of the century, there is no history of need in these areas until at least the late 1780s. The other side schools of the nineteenth century have clear roots and traditions.

Hawick and Jedburgh too were responsible in the landward areas for side schools in the nineteenth century the earlier growth of which can be traced. Hawick's 1803 settlement gave fifty merks to the Caerlanrig schoolmaster and one hundred merks to the Newmill (on Teviot) schoolmaster. Both of these were shared responsibilities with Cavers by 1841 (PP1841). The Newmill school can be seen to have developed from the payments for poor scholars to various teachers early in the century.

Jedburgh also recognised the needs of its outlying areas. One part of /

of the parish that was specifically mentioned was Lanton (Langton) two miles west of Jedburgh. Jannet Oliver taught there in 1724 and Isobel Story in 1761 approached the heritors for support as she was teaching some poor children in Lanton to read. She was granted thirteen shillings and eightpence but the minutes note that "this shall be no precedent in time to come".

The other place in the parish that received mention was Edgerston (Edgarston) which is some eight miles south of the burgh and in a satellite part of the parish separated from the main body by the parishes of Southdean and Oxnam. It is not surprising that the people of Edgerston should feel cut off from parish activities and facilities, and that they, in 1707, approached the session. They were trying to establish a schoolmaster, but couldn't get a competent maintenance. The session examined the nominee, John Cavers, and gave him two dollars from the delinquents' fund "for his encouragement". With this public support in 1707 there was no further mention in the eighteenth century of a schoolmaster at Edgerston except for payment of five shillings in 1710.

The 1803 Act was brought to the attention of the Jedburgh heritors, but they weren't sure that it applied to Jedburgh. In fact they became involved in the union of the grammar and English schools and there was no mention of additional schools. However two side schools, at Rink and Lanton, were established in 1810 with salaries of two hundred merks each according to the formal returns (PP1826 and PP1841). Lanton was referred to above and Rink was near Edgarston. Thus Hawick and Jedburgh's side schools also had roots deep in the eighteenth century,

The /

The bulk of the Jedburgh references to private teachers are single references and often to women teaching the poor girls when the master of the grammar school looked after the boys. Hawick, however, appears to have had a schoolmistress on a more permanent basis. Whether she was as long suffering as John Galt's "Mem" is unknown, but she did serve for forty years from 1736 for a salary of £2 from the Buccleuch estate "conforme to a grant signed by the said Duke's Commissioners" on 25 April, 1737 (GD224/257). Her successor may well have been Jean Paisley whose will was registered in 1814. Her death must have occurred about 1794 as Buccleuch paid £2 to Mary and Jean Paisley, daughters of the late schoolmistress of Hawick from 1795 to 1798. Daughter Jean may have continued the post as she received the £2 in 1799. A Mrs Dyce was paid in 1800 and 1801, and presumably the money fell in the 1803 settlement.

Of those private teachers clearly identified the majority were men, but over eighty per cent of the women were in Hawick and Jedburgh. The Caerlanrig and Nisbet masters were of similar qualifications to the parish schoolmasters, but the details that are revealed of the others don't present a very good picture. The Ancrum private teacher in 1740 was awarded full rate for the poor scholars "on account of his present straits". The Eckford report in the Statistical Account refers to "some infirm persons" employed to teach English and catechism in Caverton and Cessford. John Reid was adjudged capable to teach at Raesknowe although "well-aged" and although he had, two years earlier, been seeking relief for his distressed wife. James Mack in Jedburgh gave as a reason for opening a school his inability to earn a living. Janet Cesford in /

in Jedburgh is recorded as requiring relief as she was "in great distress". Not all were even worthy. In 1721 Isobel Betie of Hawick was ordered to produce her account for teaching poor scholars. Two years later she was charged with fornication, a first offence in Hawick, but third in all. She avoided the authorities for a couple of years but in 1725 was cited to appear for her fourth offence "as soon as she is out of childbed".

Esther Easton taught a private school in Jedburgh in the 1780s and 1790s and met Burns on his tour. He wrote:

"Mrs S(ommerville) an excellent, motherl(y), agreeable woman, and a fine famil(y) - Mr Ainslie and Mr S(ommerville) Junrs. with Mr Fair, Miss Lindsay and me, go to see Esther, a very remarkable woman for reciting Poetry of all kinds, and some-times making Scotch doggerel herself - She can repeat by heart almost every thing she has ever read, particularly Pope's Homer from end to end - has studyed Euclid by herself, and in short is a woman of very extraordinary abilities - on conversing with her I find her fully to come up to the character given of her - She is very much flattered that I send for her, and that she sees a Poet who has put out a book as she says - She is, among other things, a great Florist - and is rather past the meridian of once celebrated beauty but alas! th very well married, before that period she was violently suspected for some of the tricks of the Cytherean Deesse - "

(Brown, 1972, p.20)

Roxburgh's private teachers displayed all the strengths and weaknesses of mankind.

In the main, casual private teachers were paid by the session from any /

any of the funds at their disposal, for example, the poor fund or the delinquents' box. James Mack at the beginning of the century was sometimes paid out of the "copper money" and once was given two pecks of oatmeal "for his encouragement". In only one parish were the private teachers dealing with poor scholars paid not by the session, but by the heritors and that was in Eckford.

Eckford has no session records and the payments begin in the 1780s when the heritors' records are really parish records, that is, the meeting of heritors, tenants and elders that looks after the poor matters and takes on school, but not church, affairs. Also it is only at Eckford that there is any apparent attempt to 'control' private teachers when in 1802 the parish meeting decided that they would pay the parish schoolmaster's claim for poor scholars, but in future he was to seek prior approval. If he was to teach the poor without authority, "he must do so at his own risk", and the Caverton teacher was told the same thing.

In Hawick and Jedburgh matters were little different from the rural parishes. We have noted that a Hawick schoolmistress had received a small annual salary from the Buccleuch estate. The Jedburgh heritors gave a private teacher in Lanton thirteen shillings and eightpence in 1761, but "this shall be no precedent in time to come". The previous year they had been approached by one Janet Cesford who had been locked out of her teaching room by the magistrates, but the heritors decided it was not a parish matter "leaving it to individuals to grant such aid and relief as they think fit". Obviously the heritors weren't going to interfere with matters in the burgh, but did see the landward area as their responsibility, although there is no record of much activity.

The /

The Cesford story is interesting because it shows an example of council intervention. We don't know why the magistrates locked her out. Perhaps she hadn't been paying the rent, but the town was in turmoil at this time because of the Boston secession so that there are endless possibilities. The only other example was in 1709 when the Quakers were stopped by the magistrates from keeping a school in the town, but the Justices of the Peace permitted them to continue (Miller, 1910, p.113). Watson (1909) indicates seventeenth century examples of Council intervention and Grant (1876, pp.133-4) refers to a Jedburgh statute of 1628 that burgesses should send their sons only to the high school. However in the eighteenth century there appears to have been little restriction on the activities of private teachers in Jedburgh.

Hawick similarly has a seventeenth century statute and it was that "no other persons were privileged to teach in the town but those who were licensed by the heritors, ministers and elders". Furthermore no-one was allowed to teach further than the Psalm-book (CH2/1122/2, 1713). This was brought forth in the eighteenth century when Purdom was complaining about the results of the establishment of the Grammar School and he won his case that no-one should teach beyond the Psalm-book. His appeal was to the session and it is interesting that the difference between the two burghs is revealed by the fact that the Hawick licensing was carried out by heritors and session rather than the council. The attention to private teachers in the eighteenth century, however, is taken in both burghs by the Kirk Session.

Not only do the sessions make the payments, but at least in the first /

first half of the century they supervise. The Hawick session in 1721 required those that taught poor scholars to provide an account of the pupils' attendance and those accounts were received and scrutinised. Jedburgh private schools were visited by elders in 1736 and 1738. In 1724 the session cited two schoolmistresses to appear before them probably as a long delayed reaction to the Synod's recommendation of October 1719 to investigate "inadequate" private teachers. The Jedburgh session visited Mack's school in 1705, reported that ^{the} number of pupils was "but inconsiderable", they were "new beginners" and therefore could be continued with Mack. This implies that at Jedburgh, as at Hawick, there were some attempts to limit the private teachers to the rudiments of education.

Thus the parishes in the presbytery of Jedburgh provided work for private teachers in the eighteenth century. Of those clearly identified, over sixty per cent are from the second half of the century, but one must bear in mind that there are more records for that period. The pattern suggests a cluster in the first quarter of the century, another cluster between 1750 and 1770, and a pick up again in the late 1780s increasing through into the nineteenth century. Such a pattern would not be dissimilar to the changes in population size.

Of the teachers themselves, most were men and the formal posts were generally filled by men of the standard of the parish schoolmasters. The women tended to operate within the burghs and at a much more elementary level. Many, men and women, were obviously deserving of charity themselves so that paying them to teach poor scholars may have fulfilled an economic rather than educational objective.

The /

The schools were sited wherever the demand was, but the side schools established after 1803 were clearly not new institutions created where no provision had existed before; very often there was a history and tradition of provision in these areas throughout the eighteenth century.

The attitude of the authorities towards private schools has not been overtly antagonistic. There may have been pressures put upon individuals informally, but there was no apparent need for legislation or litigation. The principal interest was taken by the Kirk sessions which have generally been supportive to the extent that they have given financial rewards and it was only in the burghs that the sessions appeared to be more active with examination and visitation which was nonetheless positive rather than negative. That activity declined, however, throughout the century as the support for other churches grew.

Having ascertained the numbers and circumstances of private teachers in Roxburghshire, the final section will attempt to discover what was the gap that had to be filled. We noted that the private schools did not develop to offer a more advanced or differentiated curriculum, but rather that they provided a more local service than the parish school. To speculate further requires one to make assumptions about maximum distances that could be covered daily by a young pupil, the average length of school life of an eighteenth century youngster, the number of pupils that could be reasonably taught by one teacher, and the number and distribution of the population.

In /

In Chapter two we brought forward various population statistics. How many children there were to be taught in a parish is dependent upon how long a child should spend at school. The Caerlanrig figures and indeed some from Southdean, quoted in Chapter four point to a very wide age range. The total population is, therefore, a crude figure and the proportion of school age is little better than a guess, so that the resultant must be treated with extreme caution.

Beale (1983, p.159) assumes that there would be five years of elementary education. Bain (1965, p.111) seems to assume a seven year school life. The 1656 Jedburgh contract took school age as between six and fourteen years. Smout (1972, p.425) suggests that four years was the most insisted upon by the local authority and even that was shortened for girls and assumed that there would be great seasonal variation. Younger (1881) had four to five years of schooling at Ancrum. Thomson the poet, John Leyden and Robert Balmer had longer, but of Gideon Scott of Hawick it was said: "being located at an inconvenient distance from teachers (two miles from Newmill on Teviot, but seven from Hawick), and the child of parents in a humble condition of life, all the scholastic tuition he received was during a four months' attendance at school" (Kennedy, 1870(i)).

The table below gives the possible numbers of pupils for each parish at the three periods for which we have the most reliable information, 1755, the 1790s (O.S.A.) and 1801. The total population figures for each period have been divided by ten to arrive /

arrive at a school population. This assumes a school life of four years and that twenty five per cent of the population is aged 0-10 years. (In our parishes from the Statistical Account, the figure would be approximately 23.5%.) Where the ministers in the 1790s gave a 0-10 years return it has been reduced to forty per cent and is underlined. (Wilton gave a 0-20 figure which was reduced to twenty per cent.) Also given in brackets are actual pupil numbers given from various sources in the 1790s. At Crailing both parish and Nisbet school figures are given.

Figure Eighteen

School-age Population

	1755	1790s	1801
Ancrum	107	<u>108</u>	122
Bedrule	30	<u>28</u> (c.50)	26
Cavers	99	130	138
Crailling	39	<u>105</u> (48+36)	67
Eckford	108	<u>55</u> (c.45)	97
Hawick	271	293	280
Hobkirk	53	<u>60</u>	76
Hownam	63	<u>40</u> (c.17)	37
Jedburgh	582	329	383
Kirkton	33	<u>25</u>	32
Minto	40	<u>70</u> (c.55)	48
Oxnam	76	69	69
Southdean	48	<u>18</u>	70
Wilton	94	109 (100+)	131

Having /

Having established the school-age population, one must set a figure for the maximum class size. Smout (1972, p.425) concludes that "one schoolmaster seems to have coped, on average, with something like fifty or sixty children in a parish school". Beale (1983, p.4) seems to assume a number between sixty and seventy five, while some biographical accounts quote other figures: sixty to eighty (Drummond and Bulloch, 1973, p.76); about sixty (Younger, 1881). In 1758 when the S.S.P.C.K. was cutting back, the minimum school roll was considered to be thirty five. 'About sixty' seems a not too unreasonable assumption in the light of these figures and the fact that the Minto plan of 1792 was intended for fifty eight pupils.

Looking at the figures for the 1790s and 1801, the following parishes appear to have had more children than could be taught by one parish schoolmaster: Ancrum, Cavers, Crailing, Eckford, Hawick, Jedburgh and Wilton. In fact these seven parishes are the ones previously recorded as having side schools later in the nineteenth century, or, in the case of Longnewton, an endowed school. Of these seven if we put Hawick and Jedburgh on one side, only Cavers and Wilton would be candidates for more than two parish schools. Cavers had in its parish Caerlanrig and Newmill (upon Teviot), which it shared with Hawick, and Denholm. (In addition, the Bedrule minister in his report in the Statistical Account makes great play of the fact that his church was closer for many folk in Cavers and Hobkirk than their own parish kirks. The school-age ^population and the actual number in the school in the 1790s would indicate that the same was the case with the school so that Cavers was benefitting from the Bedrule provision.) /

provision.) Wilton, as we have seen, had two side schools, but also as Hawick expanded into Wilton it becomes more difficult to differentiate. The new Hawick Grammar School of the nineteenth century was built in Wilton parish.

What then of Hawick and Jedburgh? Although both had, or shared, two side schools, there was a serious shortfall so that it is not at all surprising to have Someville's report of 1802 on the schools in the parish of Jedburgh (CH2/198/36/6). He identified over thirteen schools with a total school population of over four hundred as a minimum, only fifteen per cent of whom were at either of the public schools and more than a half was Dissenting.

There is, therefore, a possible conclusion that the private teachers in the rural parishes met in quantity, if not in quality, the demands made by the population and that it was that provision which was taken on by the public authorities after 1803. In contrast Hawick and Jedburgh, even after 1803, were underprovided in terms of public provision.

That conclusion, however, can only be accurate in very general terms, in the terms that would make 'one teacher for fifty children in a parish' satisfactory. Two factors which arise in this study have to be taken into account, particularly with regard to the rural parishes. The first is distance and the second is population change, and they are not unrelated. In Chapter two it was suggested that the population in the rural parishes had gone up between 1755 and the 1770s, then dropped sharply and was picking up only /

only by the 1790s. We are suggesting that the provision was notionally satisfactory at the end of the century, but if one imagines a population peak in the 1770s, then even that notional provision becomes inadequate. An example of what it can mean to a parish is revealed in the Ancrum records (HR321/2). In 1779 the heritors decided to check on how many folk had come into the parish within the past three years and it was discovered that thirty two families had done so. That would amount to at least sixty children, which would require the addition of one full-time teacher to the establishment.

The second point about population is its distribution. Before the agricultural improvements, the rural population was much more dispersed so that for the first half of the century at least the population of a parish would be more evenly distributed over the area than it was by the end of the century. That means that there were, for the first period, more children like Gideon Scott who were too far from a school to take advantage of the notionally adequate provision. When the case was being made in 1755 for a teacher at Caerlanrig it was said that there were between four and five hundred people in the area (GD95/2/7). At that time there was just under a thousand folk in the whole parish of Cavers.

Private teachers were, therefore, essential to fill up the gaps in provision in which one schoolmaster could not physically reach the school population in a rural parish. Even the little parish of Bedrule had two major centres. Then as the population grew into the 1770s the private teachers were essential to meet the additional numbers. /

numbers. Theoretically the notional provision in a more centralised society would have led one to expect fewer private teachers at the end of the century, but the fact that there are such large numbers then merely underlines how important they must have been in the earlier periods.

There were private teachers at different times in nearly all of the parishes in the presbytery of Jedburgh and they were essential to take account of the scattered nature of the population and its sudden changes. It could even be that such temporary support was even preferable in the early period to permanent and less dynamic provision. The problem with the temporary staff was that they were less controllable, less qualified, and possibly less competent. The following two quotations from Thomson (1875) describing his father's schooldays in Wilton in the late 1780s sum up the possible imperfections of the private school and also the kind of conclusions at which one can arrive after surviving the imperfections.

"The worthy, or rather, I should say, the unworthy schoolmaster at Stouslea was apt at times to neglect his scholars and go to Hawick and get on the spree. His worthy wife used to take the school in his absence and do her best."

(p.16-17.)

"Thus passed a few happy years of boyhood - herding in summer, at school in winter. How many of Scotland's boys have been reared in the same fashion. It is difficult to say in which school the nobler lesson is taught, the purer thoughts are cherished - the day school or the herding school."

(p.19.)

Chapter Seven

The Schoolmaster in the Community

Hilson (1922) describes a peripatetic teacher of the nineteenth century in the sympathetic terms of which the Scottish dominie used to be depicted: "but the crook and plaid had little fascination for Telfer, who was imbued with an elementary love of letters, and aspired to have a different type of flock under his charge". His links with the community were, necessarily, varied as he "combined the double part of teacher and travelling guest". That traditional picture of the Scottish dominie and the idealistic view of Scottish education generally have been replaced by a sketch dependent less upon folklore and more upon such evidence as can be accumulated from the documents of the time. We have learned how to be proud of Scotland's educational past, but not vain. Part of the old tradition was the image of the minister and the parish schoolmaster as the twin pillars of authority and respect in the parish. Certainly the parish schoolmaster had a central role in parish life, but if the minister and the schoolmaster were at times colleagues, they were never equals. The schoolmaster was generally reader or precentor and session clerk, but, though these tasks were all important, they were all inferior to the status of the minister.

Individual schoolmasters did, of course, receive substantial public recognition. Before the ministers took over the bibliothecarius and clerkship to the presbytery this prestigious task had been in the hands of several English schoolmasters at Jedburgh and at least one parish schoolmaster from Bedrule and one from Hownam. This was the rule in the presbytery of Jedburgh up to about 1726 and was certainly not uncommon as Scotland (1969, p.126) states. Many of the schoolmasters in town and country were elders and indeed one in Cavers found himself in a difficult situation /

situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Andrew Scott at Cavers wrote to the presbytery in 1805 complaining that he, as the only elder in the parish (even the minister and assistant lived elsewhere) did not approve of the baptism of a particular child. The presbytery agreed with him and even rebuked the minister (CH2/198/36/6). This does not present a very happy picture of parochial efficiency and it may be that these conditions led the assistant in 1801-02, Thomas Chalmers, to lay such stress on parochial organisation when he later gained his charge in St. John's, Glasgow.

Parish schoolmasters might also be prominent members of sessions in that they might, for example, be members of visiting parties to hear candidates in a vacancy. At least one represented a major heritor at various neighbouring parish meetings.

In the burghs other honours were available. We have noted before that in Jedburgh some schoolmasters left teaching and went into trade and were often involved in local politics. George Martine, English schoolmaster in the first quarter of the century, became a Bailie. At Hawick more examples are forthcoming. At least two of the grammar schoolmasters were made bailies and one grammar and one English schoolmaster were made heritable burgesses. Stephenson (1973, p.32) quotes a Dundee schoolmaster being given a "gratis burgess-ship" and Grant (1876, pp.288-9) notes that such distinctions were not infrequent, but there is no evidence in Jedburgh and Hawick to support his footnote that these honours were sometimes in lieu of an increase in salary.

Not all schoolmasters were seen as figures of distinction. Robert Petrie was grammar schoolmaster at Selkirk, then at Jedburgh and went on to become a minister. While he was at Selkirk however, the kirk session received /

complaints from two brothers claiming that their sister was about to marry Petrie without their advice or consent and requesting the minister not to proclaim the banns, but the wedding went ahead (Sharpe, n.d., p.95).

Generally it was the plurality of roles that kept the schoolmaster in contact with the community, but the image is no longer presented of the dedicated public servant extending his learning and experience into all spheres of parish life. These additional tasks were taken on because they brought in additional remuneration, so that the general historian can write: "to eke out a bare livelihood the dominie was often obliged to take on odd jobs such as notary or even grave-digger" (Ferguson, 1978, p.95). The Wilton schoolmaster in 1713 was paid for "making two graves", the Bedrule schoolmaster did receive payment for at least fifty years for keeping the church ditch clean and one Eckford teacher was paid for planting trees for the Buccleuch estate (GD224/245). Generally the 'odd jobs' were of a more specialised nature. Several schoolmasters were involved with land-measuring: John Clerk of Eckford in 1758, Thomas Wilson of Hownam in 1757, James Elliot of Wilton in 1797. Wilson, in fact, left teaching to take up land-measuring on a full-time basis.

The burgh schoolmaster also had the opportunity of additional tasks. Chisholm in Jedburgh appears to have been responsible for the library in Jedburgh, as was James Brewster later. In Hawick James Inglis, the English schoolmaster, had also been postmaster for many years, latterly assisted by his daughter who took over for three years after Inglis' death in 1806. Thereafter the job went to a local printer (T.I.S., 1970). A little incident is revealed in the Buccleuch correspondence which highlights the inter-linking of the 'public' posts and also that patronage was not dead. In 1802 the Buccleuch agent tried to wrest the postmastership from Inglis /

Inglis as he was old and there was distrust of his family though no malice against Inglis himself; "the old gentleman first put a pen in Mr. Ogilvie's hand near half a century ago ...". The Buccleuch candidate was James Kirk, Hawick grammar schoolmaster, but he was under suspicion in some quarters. He had joined the volunteers, but had resigned at the same time as twenty two others. They had resigned because the Captain had appointed as Drill Sergeant a shop-keeper instead of a Regular, while Kirk had resigned because the Captain, offended that Kirk had stayed out of the appointment dispute, had caused trouble for Kirk at Lord Napier's where Kirk tutored (GD224/584/5). Obviously this is a one-sided view interspersed with gossip, but it does reveal that the master of Hawick grammar school, apart from being a candidate for the post job, was also a private tutor, and that the influence of the Buccleuch estate spread into all aspects of Hawick life.

The principal 'odd jobs' were those of session clerk and precentor. The financial returns from these posts were mentioned in earlier chapters and while the most that could be gained was not as great as that which arose from teaching it was perhaps easier and more regular. The fees for registrations, proclamations etc., a proportion of which generally went to the session clerk were, certainly between 1690 and 1733, likely to be given a higher priority than the school fee. Perhaps after 1733 and 1761, when the discipline of the Auld Kirk was not so universally regarded, the pressure was less great. With regard to the clerk's salary, it came from a single source, usually the collections, and would be paid more easily than the schoolmaster's salary which was collected from various heritors.

The rewards were not gained without burdens and responsibilities. The session /

session clerk, as the agent of the session, often had to convey messages, seek information or explanations, act at the sharp end of an instrument which was often an instrument of punishment. After 1690 and in the early days of the eighteenth century the sessions were concerned with all social failings and if they didn't always carry out the punishment, they passed the sentence. For example in 1711 the Jedburgh session considered two girls to have "base tongues" and to stop them from swearing, "evil and scandalous speaking", the session recommended the magistrates to put them in the "joggs" at the cross "jaugging their mouths" (in an iron collar) (CH2/552/7). In 1691 the Bedrule session warned two men to stop "playing at cards" and in 1729 the Jedburgh session invoked an old burgh act against a woman living in a room by herself to take action against a woman accused of keeping a "disorderly house". The Hawick session early in the eighteenth century was active about drunkenness; there was an order to innkeepers not to serve drink after 10 p.m. except to residents to prevent "night and untimous drinking", but one poor shoemaker came before the session for being drunk and for wandering the streets in women's apparel (CH2/1122/1, 1702). As the century progressed, the social failings that were considered had narrowed to moral, or rather immoral, matters so that, for example, the Cavers session, between 1769 and 1791 minuted twenty cases of fornication or adultery, one of theft, one irregular marriage, discussed a couple of Synod recommendations, paid salaries and poor scholars' fees, and that was about it.

The influence of the session locally may have diminished as the influence of the Auld Kirk declined nationally, but the session clerk remained a pivotal part of that influence. A little more interesting is the development in the post of precentor. The Jedburgh contract of 1656 refers to the Schoolmaster reader, but then goes on to talk about the precentor or reader. /

reader. One tends to think of the precentor as the leader of singing and the reader as an assistant minister (for example Scotland, 1969, pp.373-4), but it may well be that the functions were less strictly defined at the time. In the eighteenth century the precentor and session clerk were generally put together, but not always. We noted in Chapter 4 that in Southdean in 1773 the heritors and minister appointed John Turnbull to be schoolmaster and 'presenter', but the session appointed him to be clerk. Earlier David Turnbull, the Southdean schoolmaster, had been in trouble and was suspended from the precentorship, but not the clerkship. Again in Bedrule in the 1740s the schoolmaster was in trouble and the minister removed him from the office of precentor, but the session from that of session clerk.

There was, therefore, no standard practice nor uniform understanding, but it appears from the records that there was a much firmer attempt later in the century to make clear what people's responsibilities were in this regard. Throughout the eighteenth century there appeared payments to people to precent other than the schoolmaster, or indeed session clerk. This could be "while the schoolmaster was wanting" or when the precentor was suspended. There are also early cases of the schoolmaster having to pay someone to precent on his behalf, for example at Wilton in 1722 after the first legal schoolmaster had been appointed. (Prior to that, Wilton had paid a precentor, who also taught.)

However there was a clear revival of interest in precenting from the late 1780s. Simpson (1947, p.33) and Law (1965, pp.174-7) describe the developments, begun in Aberdeenshire, to give fresh life to church music and to support the General Assembly's Act of 1746 on the manner of singing psalms. The Roxburghshire seem to have taken place later than elsewhere, but /

but this may be another example of a slower reaction by this more remote part of the countryside. Certainly the Roxburghshire records show that, in the fourth quarter of the century, precentors were given a new importance in the kirk and church music was given a new place on the curriculum, as we saw in Chapter 4. The key to both these areas was the schoolmaster. After 1788 Cavers showed various payments to a precentor. In Kirkton there were payments to a precentor in 1797 and 1799 to which year the newly appointed schoolmaster was told that he had to "make a serious attempt to learn church music so as to officiate himself as precentor, at any rate to furnish at his own expence a precentor at all times that are necessary" (HR277/1). In 1792 the Wilton schoolmaster had to pay someone else to precent. At Oxnam it is minuted in 1797 that Robert Smith "finds it inconvenient to act as precentor. Alex Davidson is made precentor as long as the clerk is prepared to resign that office" (CH2/1232/3). Finally at Eckford in 1804 the silver lining revealed a cloud: "note bene. It was understood in consequence of increasing the schoolmaster's salary to four hundred merks that Mr. Rutherford was to precent in the parish church during Mr Paton's (Minister's) life" (HR530/2).

The relationship between the school curriculum and church worship meant that the links still existed at the end of the eighteenth century, the parish school still dwelt in the shadow of the parish kirk, but it was no longer being left understood that the schoolmaster would precent. He had a responsibility to fill the post, but it was not required that he do so himself. The issue of the precentorships, therefore, reveals an element of secularisation that will be examined again in Chapter ten, but as far as the schoolmaster /

schoolmaster in the community is concerned it distanced him a little from matters religious, brought him a little way out of the shadow of the kirk.

Another related issue which arose about the same time was Sunday Schools. The Synod recommended in 1789 that parish schoolmasters should take Sunday schools and the presbyteries were asked how this could be implemented, what salary, how many schools to a parish etc. The Jedburgh Presbytery left it to a committee to reply and its report said that Sunday schools were "a probable means of usefulness especially in towns and populous villages", that they should be concerned with scriptural knowledge, that costs should be met by voluntary contributions, and that there was little that the church could do except approve and recommend (CH2/198/36/2/13/126). The 1802 reports to the presbytery stated that there was only one Sunday school in the presbytery's bounds, at Jedburgh run by the Dissenting minister, and that one had been tried at Cavers, but it had failed.

In 1792 the Wilton schoolmaster's salary was raised to £10, but "in consideration of the augmentation of salary granted by the heritors the schoolmaster is to be obliged, if required by the heritors, to open a Sunday School and to read a chapter or two on Sunday mornings before the ringing of the bell" (HR390/2). Two years later the Crailing schoolmaster represented to the presbytery that he taught a Sunday School without compensation and the presbytery agreed that the heritors should pay something (CH2/198/15), but the heritors' records make no mention.

Sunday Schools, therefore, appear not to have been too numerous in Roxburghshire,

Roxburghshire, but the presbytery's response was not full of enthusiasm. This was in line with the clergy's view in Aberdeen-shire (Simpson, 1947, p.180). It is a little surprising that there is not more activity amongst the seceders, but there is no reason to doubt Somerville's report of 1802. The Sunday school issue is interesting if taken along with the precentorship topic and if one sees both as attempts to revitalise the Church of Scotland. The Church still appeared to believe that it could use parish schoolmasters, but, according to the two examples quoted above, it had to pay for the task; it could no longer be expected of the schoolmaster, and this seems evidence of a changing relationship between parish schoolmaster and church, therefore, between parish schoolmaster and the community at large. The Jedburgh contract of 1656 had placed very clear obligations on the schoolmaster about 'Sunday School type' activities.

The other 'odd jobs' undertaken by the pluralist schoolmaster were those associated with the heritors. These are not overlooked by historians; they are mentioned as additional sources of income (for example Scotland, 1969, p.126). Simpson's otherwise excellent section on 'the pluralist' hardly touches upon the work associated with the heritors, (Simpson, 1947, pp.96-102) nor does Bain (1965). No doubt the previous lack of interest has been because there was less apparent connection between the heritors' activities and education than there was between the church and education. As a source of finance, the heritors' posts were valuable, as noted in Chapter four, because of the regularity of the income rather than its amount. However what was evident from a close reading of all the local records was the nature of the work /

work involved. Certainly it was time-consuming and there was much straightforward clerking, calling of estimates, supervising building and repairs etc., but there was also all the work in connection with poor relief and it was this which, certainly in the second half of the century, gives a new aspect to the schoolmaster in the community.

It is not the intention here to analyse the workings of poor relief in Roxburghshire, but merely to highlight the role of the schoolmaster. As session clerk and heritor's clerk, the schoolmaster was involved with many acts of charity. The Jedburgh session in 1719 gave eighteen shillings (Scots) to a travelling professor and eight shillings (Scots) to a travelling schoolmaster. The Hownam heritors had a problem in 1787 with a poor parishioner whom they could not accommodate properly and who was troubling other parishes. They decided that if all else failed they would have to take him into each of their houses for a week "though very unagreeable". They 'send the bell' round Kelso and Jedburgh to seek lodgings for the man at three shillings and sixpence per week, but if that failed each heritor and tenant would have to take him ... at five shillings per week. The Bedrule schoolmaster wrote to the heritors in 1798 to say that his minister had visited a manufactory near Cockpen which took children, seven to fourteen years, fed and clothed them, and kept a schoolmaster "to teach them and superintend their morals". All the children appeared happy to the minister and it was suggested that it might be an appropriate place for an Eckford orphan. The minister wrote to the manufacturer, Mark Stark, who replied that the children were employed in spinning yarn. "All we expect is that they be decently clothed when /

when sent to the mill and that whoever has the charge of them shall sign a missive agreeing to bind them to the mill till full fourteen years old and engaging to sign a regular indenture on stamp paper to that effect if required." The Eckford heritors agreed to put the orphan forward (HR530/1). Ancrum gave £1 to Thomas Wood in 1796 "to go seabathing" (HR321/2). Lastly, and just outside our period, five shillings was given to a "boy at Belses struck by thunder" (OPR780/3, 1806).

Individual acts such as these are numerous and show the variety of life and living with which the schoolmaster had contact. It is, however, the routine of the poor relief which pulls the parish into acting co-operatively. After 1698, the heritors and session were legally responsible for poor relief in the parish, the magistrates in burghs. In Jedburgh, the doctor to the grammar school, and later the English schoolmaster, was generally the heritors' clerk and collector of the poor money so that he was involved, but perhaps not so significantly as in the rural parishes. Of course Jedburgh also suffered from disputes between council and heritors about who was responsible for what. In the serious shortages of 1740, a committee of magistrates, session and 'voluntary' heritors was established to oversee poor relief, but there were still disputes through 1741 to 1743. The principal interest is, however, in the rural parishes.

The legal basis was established in the seventeenth century and, like education, there was no further major legislation until the nineteenth century. Similarly, there was quite a time lag before the various laws were implemented. "By 1740 in most Lowland parishes the kirk session, either by itself or in conjunction with /

with the local landowners, was ready to intervene in the emergencies caused by high prices or lack of employment" (Flinn, 1977, p.247). Certainly the early records are full of fasts because of 'unseasonable' weather and thanksgiving for good harvest weather, but in the second half of the century there is more evidence of grain and meal being given to the poor, later it was being sold at subsidised prices, latterly straightforward cash aid. The 1783 crisis brought a county reaction with a meeting of heritors assessing the situation with regard to the amount of victuals available and pointing out the danger of some of the Roxburgh sufficiency being exported to other counties (HR312/1). Generally the activity was within the parish with half of the church collection going towards poor relief and any amount needed beyond that was provided by the heritors. This formed the principal business of the parish meetings which became apparent around the middle of the century when the sessions ceased to act independently. There was no firm pattern from parish to parish, however; some parishes operated with the session and its clerk as the pivot; some with the heritors' meeting and its clerk; sometimes with the parish meeting and its clerk; sometimes the clerk was also collector; sometimes there was an overseer of the poor. What is noticeable is the more formal handling of the poor business as the century progresses and a settled provision being made for the officers. At first the collector tended to be a different person from the clerk, but the posts were often combined after a while. In 1757 the Crailing schoolmaster took on the collector's job and there was an objection that he should receive the additional salary, £1 per annum. An invitation was offered for someone to undertake the task for less /

less money, but no-one came forward (HR202/1). It may be that, as the procedure became more formal, it required better qualified operators so that the schoolmaster did more and more. Alternatively it may be that as the schoolmaster's financial position became worse he was more prepared to take on any 'odd job'. The Crailing example would suggest that the latter is quite likely, but the former could be a contributory factor. There is again the danger that, because there are more heritors' records for the second half of the century, we ascribe their intervention to that period, but it must be the case that they did become more involved; as the number of the Dissenters grew, the collections of the Auld Kirk would drop and, therefore, the session's contribution to poor relief would drop leaving the heritors to make up an increasing deficit.

The basic system required an assessment to be made of the numbers of deserving poor, how much aid they needed, how the cess was to be shared, then its collection from the heritors and tenants, and its eventual distribution to the poor. Cage (1981, p.23) observed that, in general, heritors were unwilling to assess themselves, but preferred to make a voluntary contribution and this view was shared by Flinn (1977, p.234) who also suggested that by the 1780s the poor relief administration was sufficiently efficient for assessment to be introduced where necessary and "once introduced, was difficult to get rid of afterwards". What is not clear from the Roxburgh records is when the permanent assessment was established although it is probable that it didn't come as a conscious decision, but merely as a result of practice and repetition. Cage (1981, p.41) also observed: "a striking characteristic of the Scottish poor law as administered in rural parishes was its unification /

unification within what was really a slender legal framework". That unity was embodied in the basic system outlined above and that was the one described in the Cavers records of 1767 (Roxburgh, 6/4/1). However by the 1790s the Cavers minister reported in the Statistical Account that the heritors assessed themselves and the Kirk collections were given to those poor not on the heritors' list. Such a system was also employed in Eckford where weekly collections were "also supplied to alleviate the wants of the most needy as they occur" (O.S.A.) and at Ancrum where there was a quarterly heritors' assessment and the church collections were for "interim supply" to "contribute more effectually in that way to alleviate the quarterly assessments than by paying one half of them to the collector for the poor ..." (O.S.A.). There was, therefore, a uniform system at any one time, but a developing system; Cage (1981) was suggesting that the one system developed and remained through to 1845, but certainly in Roxburghshire it looks as if there was uniformity, but uniform development from the session alone, to the session and heritors, to the heritors backed by the session. But just to ensure that too crisp a picture of uniformity is not taken away, Crailing in 1796 faced by high prices had the clerk go round heritors and tenants to gather what they wished to give.

If the schoolmaster was both clerk and collector, the burden is obvious. In the bad year of 1783, Crailing had thirty six out of five hundred and sixty inhabitants on the poor list (HR202/2) and Hobkirk had thirty out of seven hundred and forty, but fifty more were "perhaps needing temporary supply" (HR312/1). If the trend in the administration was as suggested, then the handling of the poor /

poor relief became a much more secular matter and the schoolmaster's weighty contribution took him further from the shadow of the kirk.

In addition to the routine, there were other matters. The payment of poor scholars' fees was a regular matter and appears to have been the practice in all parishes. The demand for charity work houses cropped up occasionally. Flinn (1977, p.247) suggested that there were bursts of enthusiasm "in the 1720s and again more emphatically in the 1740s". In the council turmoil of the 1730s in Jedburgh there was a call for a workhouse (B38/7/2, 1737) and a further call in the 1750s when the heritors' first thought was it should be a district poor house, no doubt to save parish money, but it looks as if they had to go it alone (HR172/1). Certainly there was consideration given to the same idea for Hawick at the same time and Hobkirk, at least, was in support of a district institution at Hawick (HR312/1, 1753). Later in the century we see Crailing supporting the Kelso Dispensary so that the Crailing poor can benefit (CH2/1159/1, 1790).

Two other components of poor relief require to be mentioned. They appear frequently in the records and are very relevant to the schoolmaster in the community; residence and property. Scottish poor law had always included transportation rights; a poor person would be supported by those parishes through which he had to pass to reach his parish of settlement which was defined by birth or residence. Residence came to mean three years in one parish (Cage, 1981) and, although, as Ferguson (1978, p.94) points out, there wasn't so much forcible movement of the poor as there was in /

in England which had forty days instead of three years, in times of hardship the parish became more careful about to whom it gave its support.

In Chapter six we noted that Ancrum in 1779 found that thirty two families had come into the parish within the previous three years. This was discovered when the heritors decided to check up on the number of newcomers with the intent of making them leave or show certificates to prove that some other parish was responsible for them, "taking into consideration the great loss they (the heritors) sustain by families and single persons taking habitation in this parish" (HR321/2). Cavers was especially active in 1783-4. Cottars in Denholm were likely to be 'burdensome' so that they were checked to discover if they had certificates from another parish of settlement or, if not, they should leave. This last point was to be underlined by stating that feuers who let houses to cottars would be made responsible for the cottars (Roxburgh, 6/4/1). Cavers took a firm line, but were consistent. They wrote to Minto to check that some residents were Minto's responsibility, but they also accepted responsibility for a Hawick resident at this time. In the times of hardship in the late 1790s Southdean also showed much concern about the incomers, but it doesn't minute such positive steps as those above (HR191/2) and Crailing as early as 1767 warned that houses should not be let to folk without a certificate from another parish (HR202/2).

The second matter is the assignation by the poor of their effects to the parish. Cage (1981, p.33) said of it: "a peculiar practice developed in the Lowland areas in the 1750s and rapidly spread to the /

the remainder of Scotland: a practice not sanctioned by the law or tested in the Court of Session". Crailing appears to have undertaken this in 1757 (HR202/1) and Hobkirk in 1780 (HR312/1). Wilton required the poor to sign or make their mark assigning their goods in 1767 and pressure was put on individuals in 1773 (HR390/1). Cavers again has the clearest policy. They ordered their clerk "to take an inventory of the effects belonging to the poor who are upon the List, and to roup all their effects immediately after the death of any of the poor and to be accountable for the same to the Heritors at their next meeting. If any of the poor embazzle secrete or convey any of their effects to their friends they are to be prosecute as the law directs and immediately struck out of the list" (Roxburgh, 6/4/1, 1783). It is not the intention to examine the apparent contradiction between Cage's statement earlier and the Cavers minute about the legal basis of the action, but the responsibility placed upon the schoolmaster, as clerk, was very heavy. He did, however, discharge it because the following year he gave in a list of the poor's effects: beds, chairs, pots, pans, blankets, etc., but no books and no Bible. Two poor folk refused to have their goods inventoried and were struck off the list.

The creation of the inventory was an unpleasant task and even if all parishes were not as ruthlessly efficient as Cavers the selling off of the deceased person's effects is quite common. It was clearly the practice in Cavers. As early as 1754 the Crailing schoolmaster was clerk at a roup for which he was paid two shillings. The Wilton schoolmaster roused a poor widow's belongings in 1771, but some of the possessions went to the two orphans (HR390/1). Five shillings was the fee received by the Eckford schoolmaster for rousing /

rouping and collecting the money raised in 1787 and 1794 (HR530/1).

Involvement in the poor relief work allowed the schoolmaster to rub shoulders with the wealthier members of the parish, but also with the humblest and least fortunate. He had the satisfaction of assisting in the support of the needy, but he was often responsible for carrying out some of the more punitive aspects of that charity.

The parish schoolmaster, therefore, was active in many facets of parish life and with all levels of parish society. There is little doubt that, in the eighteenth century, the pluralism of the schoolmaster had an economic basis. He had two jobs: teaching and earning a living. It is not just playing with words to suggest that teaching was not a full-time activity. For some it clearly was not, but when one considers the amount of work engendered by the poor relief in particular it is easy to see that these other parish duties were, as Scotland (1969, p.127) says, "greedy of time". The justification of pluralism made originally by Simpson (1947, p.102), and later followed by Scotland, was that "it is doubtful if pluralism was a bad tradition. It brought the schoolmaster into contact with the world outside his school, probably on the whole with beneficial effect". This Roxburghshire study does not lead to a value judgement on how beneficial pluralism was except in a financial sense, but there is no doubt that these various tasks kept the schoolmaster involved with the whole community, and not just that section around the old parish church. Education was detaching itself from religion, but the parish schoolmaster, through his additional roles, was moving even more swiftly from the shadow than was the school.

Chapter Eight

Inter-parish cooperation

"The parish has perhaps the longest history of any organisation in the country and over the centuries has been significant for secular as well as ecclesiastical purposes". Donaldson (1974, p.138) also states that: "From the early thirteenth century every part of Scotland and every inhabitant of Scotland was within a parish, which was thus a unit of which everyone in the rural areas was conscious".

In the Borders, burghs were parts of parishes so that the parish remained the unit; provision was made and concern was extended within the parish. Some people and some activities, however, which had a particular function and focus in the parish also had an affiliation and relationship with bodies and systems outside the individual parish. Thus heritors in the parish might be seen to have the commissioners of supply as their counter-parts at shire level. Certainly the ministers and kirk sessions are part of the hierarchy which has, as the next level, the presbytery. The provision for the poor for example operated within a parish, but there were clearly defined rules for breaching the parish boundaries.

Often the extra-parish body was a referee, but particularly in the church the body was a support for the individual units. If a minister was absent, a colleague would act as a substitute, and such cover was a significant part of presbytery business. The church also operated this supportive system in a different sphere. There are at least a couple of cases revealed in this research where one parish borrowed the communion cups of another, once for a fee.

Schoolmasters /

Schoolmasters didn't have such supportive networks, apart from the presbyteries, but it became apparent in this study that there was some inter-parish cooperation in the field of education, enough to point out that it existed.

The first example is patently not restricted to the Borders and that is the award of bursaries. This can be regarded as part of the ministers' support system in that its intention was to encourage the deserving able to go to college and hence into the ministry. We have noticed how one schoolmaster had gained his higher education by this route, James Anderson of Hawick, and how the presbytery were disturbed that he should decline the ministerial trials and stay with his school. Another interesting case is James Thomson, the poet of "The Seasons" and "Rule, Britannia!". Thomson was presbytery bursar between 1717 and 1724 while he was at Edinburgh University, latterly studying Divinity. Adverse criticism of a college exercise brought his studies to an end and he went to seek his fortune in London. (Indeed he perhaps found it when he received in 1744 the sinecure post of Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands at £300 per annum. His younger brothers also received support from the presbytery in 1726-27 after the death of their mother. Their father, minister of Southdean, had died ten years earlier so that the presbytery could be said to be looking after their own and certainly James, like Anderson, did not return the early investment directly.

The second category grows out of the provision for the poor. The Bedrule schoolmaster in 1798 wrote to neighbouring parishes to inform them about a manufactory near Cockpen which would be suitable for the education and upbringing of an Eckford orphan. A former Oxnam schoolmaster, Jonathon White, was given aid by Jedburgh when he was "bedfast" there in 1766 and Jedburgh /

Jedburgh paid for his burial the following year. Crailing in 1798 paid the school fees of a poor scholar living in Bedrule because Crailing had supported his mother.

If the first two categories appear to be embedded in other networks and provision, this next is more closely allied to the area of education. All parishes had some support for poor scholars to attend the parish school and, independent of that, many scholars from outlying parishes had to go to a bigger centre for grammar school education, as Thomson went from Southdean to Jedburgh. The interesting thing is that there are a couple of examples, and it is surprising perhaps that there are only two, of poor pupils being supported to go to the grammar school in a parish other than their own. William Buckham of Ancrum sought the support of the presbytery in 1752 "being desirous to acquire the Latin tongue". The assumption is that he could not acquire this Latin in Ancrum and would have to go to Jedburgh. The second case is also rather tentative; Bedrule paid for a poor scholar to be educated in Jedburgh from 1720 to 1723, and one explanation would be that he sought Latin.

The fourth category could subsume the third if the specific explanations above are ill-founded. This is where parishes give support to outlying areas of a neighbouring parish. We have seen how Hawick and Cavers co-operated over the church and school at Caerlanrig. Cavers also expended sums of money to the schoolmasters of Hawick, Bedrule, Kirkton and Wilton for teaching poor scholars of Cavers. There are ten cases between 1758 and 1782, a period when Cavers had a regular schoolmaster. Cavers was a large and divided parish so that there was a clear need for that kind of support, support in terms of access to the services of another parish.

The /

The last category might most clearly be seen as a symptom of the beginnings of the profession. This is where the teachers were employed for their expert advice in another parish. There are two examples, both very late in the eighteenth century, of schoolmasters being invited to participate at the selection of masters:

Inglis, the Hawick English master at the selection of the Wilton parish teacher in 1792 and, the following year, Easton of the Oxnam parish school at the election of the Jedburgh English schoolmaster.

Inter-parish cooperation is perhaps too grandiose a title and it is not intended that these few and scattered examples are to be interpreted as being of great significance. It is merely that the parish boundaries could be broken and the parochial schoolmaster's influence was not necessarily confined to his own parish.

Chapter Nine

The Role of the Presbytery

"One way the Church did encourage the industrial revolution was through the country's education system." Campbell (1967, p.51) argues that education was one of the factors that allowed Scotland to change from an agricultural to an industrial economy and that the church played an important part in that change by its sponsorship of the education system. "A country which believed in education of that type (scientific and technological) was more likely to achieve an industrial transformation than many others." (p.52)

Such a brief summary perhaps does little justice to Campbell's argument, but, while one can accept the premiss above and the conclusion, the essential link, that the Church provided the kind of education necessary for change, is more open to question. Withrington (1970(ii)) has shown that the 'new' curriculum developed to a great extent outside the system as such and that the driving force was very often economic rather than educational. Much of this thesis has shown a changing role for the kirk session during the eighteenth century so that the relationship between the Church in general and the development of the system was probably more complex than Campbell allowed.

In the Church structure, the presbytery was the most important body. It had not been a part of the first Book of Discipline, but was in Melville's second Book and from the eighteenth century it was the key. In 1697 was passed the Barrier Act which required any overtures before the General Assembly about constitutional change to be first remitted to the presbyteries for their consideration. Thus, although it is formally inferior to the Synod /

Synod and the General Assembly,

"The presbytery is now the characteristic and in some sense the fundamental court of the Church since, on the one hand it directly superintends not only Kirk Sessions but the whole ecclesiastical activity within its bound and on the other hand elects annually those ministers and elders who are to constitute the General Assembly"

(Cox, 1976, p.140).

That superintendence included matters educational so that the presbytery was the body to implement Church policy and was also the body legally responsible according to the 1696 Act which appointed the presbytery to ensure the settling of a school in every parish (although as noted in Chapter 1 the presbytery's role was reduced from that in 1646). An examination of the activities of the presbytery of Jedburgh should, therefore, clear the way to a view of education in that area.

By the Act of 1690 the Scottish Parliament required all teachers at schools, colleges and universities to take the Confession of Faith and Oath of Allegiance "and withall to bee of a pious loyal and peaceable conversation and of good and sufficient literature and abilities for their respective imployments". The 1693 Act laid down that all teachers were subject to "the trial, judgement and censure of the Presbyteries of the bounds for their sufficiency, qualifications and deportment in the said office". The Acts of the General Assembly laid down refinements of these legal responsibilities, for example, in 1699 to ensure that schoolmasters have signed Confession, in 1705 that the poor be taught free, in 1706 that Grammar schools be visited twice a year and that schoolmasters have degrees.

In general the presbytery saw that the provisions of 1696 were in force, examined /

examined candidates put forward by heritors, supervised the signing of the Confession and made occasional visits to the schools. Their powers, de jure and de facto, were wide-ranging and Simpson (1947, pp.58-9), for example, quotes examples of concern about the form of presbyterial examination and of an interest in education methods.

Most of the effort was, however, on the basics, the salary, the examination, the signing and the visit, and Bain (1965) and Simpson give clear evidence of presbyterial activity in Stirlingshire and Aberdeenshire in the early part of the eighteenth century. Beale (1983, p.126) concludes that "between 1750 and 1790 the presbyteries' zealous care for the religious orthodoxy and political trustworthiness of the public schoolmasters seems to have ebbed", but after that the French Revolution spurred further action.

'Temporarising and backsliding' were, however, not unknown so that none of the previous historians has depicted a consistently conscientious presbytery. Bain (1965, p.103) gives an explanation for the apparently unsatisfactory behaviour of presbyteries on occasions by referring to 'the Livingston case' in which the presbytery attempted to solve a problem in a 'peaceable and loving way'. Bain uses this West Lothian example to explain awkward cases arising in Stirlingshire from 1696 to 1726. In his later look at West Lothian (1974, p.109) he explains the Livingston case by saying that the presbytery "took upon itself the role we have seen it adopt in other local parishes" and a footnote directs the reader to Bain (1965, pp.103-5). In addition, in the West Lothian account he suggests that this attitude of the presbytery lasted until "about the beginning of the eighteenth century" and things changed from "say 1705 onwards", but he had used that attitude to explain events as late as 1726 in Stirlingshire. In another publication Bain (n.d., p.42) wrote /

wrote: "Where the intimate local knowledge of the members of the Presbytery indicated difficult local circumstances - perhaps hard economic times or an upland parish or a complex human situation - they were willing to try to settle by compromise 'in a peaceable and loving way'". It is really not the intention here to score points by showing possible inconsistencies, but rather to show that a positive and favourable interpretation of presbyterial inactivity in three separate publications by a respected educational historian is based upon one parish and "one suggestion that would seem partly to answer these questions in a not too unsatisfactory manner" (Bain, 1965, p.103). It may be that Bain is right, but his conclusion must be regarded as non-proven.

Turning to the Presbytery of Jedburgh, we saw in Chapter four that action to implement the 1696 Act with regard to legal salaries was begun only in 1714 and completed more or less by 1720. Certainly this is a much slower reaction than reported for Stirlingshire, Ayrshire and Aberdeenshire, but more successful when it did occur. Jedburgh was in line with other presbyteries in the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale, but it is difficult to give an explanation for the tardiness in this part of the country. As the Synod records don't begin until 1708, we are to some extent in the dark. The Presbytery minutes are extant and show, for example, parish visitations with concern expressed about the lack of legal salaries, but no concerted pressure is brought to bear upon heritors until after 1714. Jedburgh school was visited in 1693 and 1695, but there had been a problem with the schoolmaster. There is no real indication either that the presbytery had been tied up with other business; no great concern with planting new churches or forging a new presbytery. It certainly appears that Jedburgh Presbytery did not give high priority to the full implementation of /

of the 1696 Act. In the period 1696 to 1714 it was satisfied that the Grammar Schools in their bounds (and that obviously meant just Jedburgh) were properly managed and that there was a school in every parish. Only later did the question of legal salary become a top priority when the presbytery recorded a decision in 1715 to concur with the Synod's request to ensure that a school be erected in every parish with 'competent maintenance'. The minute gives no indication of why there should have been such resolve this time. The Synod had charged diligence in this matter since 1708 and the only new factor in its renewed charge of 1715 was that it required a written account from the presbyteries, but that was one month after the Jedburgh presbytery had decided to comply with the Synod's request of 1714. Legal salaries, therefore, appear to have become a more important topic for the Jedburgh Presbytery in 1714, and it may be that the later call for a written account stiffened their resolve so that pressure was brought to bear on the heritors and success achieved.

With regard to the examination of candidates, Jedburgh Presbytery appears to have been more diligent in the later stages. Up to 1720 only two schoolmasters were minuted as having been examined: one at Jedburgh in 1696, after there had been problems, and one at Hownam in 1706, who was later to be presbytery clerk. The lists of schoolmasters given in the appendix indicate that there must have been at least seven or eight other appointments made in this period, but there is no record of presbyterial examination. Bedrule appointed a schoolmaster in 1717 and we have details of that in the Kirk Session records, but no reference to a presbyterial examination. Certainly more cases appear as the century progresses; of the admissions where there is a clear picture of the procedure /

procedure about two thirds of the appointees were examined by the presbytery or a committee. The Eckford schoolmaster appointed in 1767 was not at all unusual in being in post for a couple of years before being examined by the presbytery. The Southdean schoolmaster of 1772 was appointed by heritors and minister for the future "during his good behaviour" provided that he was qualified by the presbytery which he duly was two years later (CH2/198/36/1/9). The Oxnam schoolmaster of 1782 was in post for five years before his examination, Irwin of Wilton nine years and Scott of Hownam at least eleven years. There may have been special circumstances in the last two cases to account for an examination after so long a period, but it is nonetheless clear that these examinations were the first presbyterial examinations undergone by these teachers.

Where the presbytery did carry out its obligations with regard to examination, it was as a formal condition of appointment rather than as a part of the procedure itself. It was more active in the procedure with regard to the grammar schools. At Hawick the Orrock Bequest required the schoolmaster to be tried by the Minister and "such other learned men" as shall be appointed by the heritors and it appears that until 1798 these were generally members of the presbytery. At Jedburgh, Brown was examined in 1696, but the next two nominations appear not to have been. In 1734 the comparative method was introduced and the presbytery were involved with the next three appointments, the last admittedly at a presbyterial visit the following year. The last in our period, that of Brewster in 1771, was without presbyterial participation. Thus, as said above, there was a more active involvement by the presbytery in the actual process of grammar school appointments, but also a possible fading of interest towards the end of the century, which was /

was not the case with the ordinary parish schools.

An analysis of the cases of the signing of the Confession of Faith suggests that the examination was not a regular occurrence even after the appointment. No doubt individual schoolmasters coming before the presbytery for examination also signed, but there is also clear evidence that occasionally the presbytery decided to have a check of all schoolmasters. In 1720 as a result of the activity of settling the legal salary there was a trawl of all in post. Again in 1751 after the Synod's call in 1748 for presbyteries to ensure that all schoolmasters were qualified by law and prayed for the Royal Family twice a day, Jedburgh presbytery took the opportunity to check on the signing as well and there were some who had been in post who signed. Lastly there was another round-up in 1803. Qualification by law was one of the reasons for the 1751 action and at that time the presbytery took care that masters had taken the oath and appeared before the justices. In 1803 the Sheriff was merely supplied with information about defaulters by the presbytery.

Harding (1975, pp.474-4) wrote of the presbytery's powers with regard to the Confession and the oath:

"it used to be believed that these powers were rigidly enforced and that every parish schoolmaster complied meekly with the law. In actual fact there is a good deal of evidence, at least in Perthshire, to suggest that Presbyteries were very often very slack in their administration of the law".

He went on to give several examples of "successful evasion on the part of schoolmaster" as did Simpson (1947, pp.89-91). Such examples were not forthcoming in Roxburghshire although one master did ask for time to consider /

consider the Confession signing (CH2/198/10, 1746), but the conclusion about the presbytery would be more accurate. It wouldn't be quite fair to say that Jedburgh was 'very often very slack' but it was by no means alert and conscientious. It would operate a rubber stamp, very often after the event, and have an occasional round-up, three in the period under study.

A remaining power vested in the presbytery was that of visiting the schools. Simpson (1947, p.59) indicated that, although there were frequent exhortations in the eighteenth century from Assembly and Synod for presbyteries to visit, "the spiritual lassitude characteristic of the first half of the eighteenth century showed itself in laxity in visitation". It was only after the Assembly Act of 1794 that there was much visiting in Aberdeenshire. Wright (1898, p.264) said "one of the outstanding features of the Old School system was the Presbyterial examination", but his examples of the visit and examination are from the nineteenth century mainly. On the other hand, Beale (1983, p.131) observes that "during the first thirty years of the eighteenth century presbyterial visitations were regular, although not as vigorous as might have been hoped". Roxburghshire seems very similar to Aberdeenshire in this respect. There are very few recorded visitations prior to 1794 after which all parishes but three were visited before 1798. Again Jedburgh fared a little better. We noted earlier that it was visited in 1693, 1695, also in 1746 and 1779, but in 1768 there was what Wright would regard as the traditional type of visitation with such a satisfactory conclusion that the presbytery was to place an advertisement in the Edinburgh and Newcastle papers extolling the Rector and the school.

The second major item in the 1696 Act was the 'commodious house'. As noted earlier, the Commissioners of Supply resolved in 1720 that one hundred merks should be raised in every parish for a schoolhouse. The century saw steady progress towards a purpose built school in every parish, but there was no concerted action or policy by the presbytery on this matter and there was no apparent attempt to implement a Synod recommendation on this subject in 1777. Apart from initiating the 1720 decision, the presbytery reacted when it saw poor conditions, for example at visitations, but as the visitations were scarce so were the reactions. When it did react, it indicated, for example, what was too small so that there was scope for the presbytery to set standards and to attempt to disseminate these standards and good practice, but that potential was not realised. The presbytery of Jedburgh permitted Hawick, the second largest place in its bounds, to keep its school in the kirk until the 1730s and it passed the buck in the Jedburgh case in the 1740s as recorded in Chapter three and the Eckford case in the 1750s (Chapter four).

The presbytery's role in the provision of education is central, but it must be said that the influence of the presbytery of Jedburgh in the eighteenth century was minimal. It was slow to implement the legal salaries of the 1696 Act, casual about examination and the Confession, inactive in visitation, and almost myopic about the school building.

So far we have looked generally at the formal responsibilities of the presbytery and the picture has been unexciting. In an attempt to find some explanation for the presbytery's position, we shall look more closely at some issues that came before the presbytery. Some of these will have been documented in earlier chapters. For example, above we noted /

noted that the presbytery 'passed the buck' in the matter of the Jedburgh schoolbuilding in 1745-6. The detailed discussion of that issue appeared in Chapter 3(v) where the presbytery was clearly not prepared to take sides in an issue where there was doubt about legal responsibilities and where there were political ramifications. The positive side is that having directed the schoolmaster to another court it offered its support in that other arena. The negative side is revealed by the month-to-month delays and diversions. In general, the cases reveal that the presbytery was unwilling to exercise any initiative or give leadership, but sought refuge in the technicalities of its legal position.

Most of the issues that arise about individual schoolmasters were in the first half of the century and the greatest interest was in Jedburgh. To some extent this was because of grammar schoolmaster Scott who raised the schoolhouse issue above. He also raised the mortification issue and was involved in the Boston affair. In both these matters (related in Chapter 3, sections (iii)b and (iv)) the presbytery acted in a very neutral way. With regard to the mortification, the Jedburgh session made all the running and the presbytery in the end decided that it was not the proper body to judge the matter. Even in the Boston case when the heritors pressed the Church authorities to deal firmly with Scott, the presbytery was remarkably benign. The reason for this is probably that the presbytery had much sympathy for Boston. Away back in 1734 the presbytery had forwarded an anti-patronage overture to the General Assembly and, as Drummond and Bulloch (1973, p.58) suggest, the presbytery of Jedburgh was probably not alone. In 1758-60 the delaying tactics were involved to avoid employing the proper legal powers and when Scott promised to follow the letter of the law the presbytery was /

was satisfied even if the heritors had not had their pound of flesh.

Two other cases involved religious orthodoxy. One has been described earlier in Chapter 4(ii), involving the Hownam schoolmaster, Young. A presbytery visitation to Hownam in 1744 about the glebe picked up complaints about Young's competence and reliability as a teacher and about his non-attendance at church. It was only the last that was followed through, leading to questions about Young's legal tenure and eventually to Young's being sacked. This was one of the few cases of a parish schoolmaster being dismissed, but, while the grounds were non-attendance at church and the issue of legal tenure had been thoroughly examined, the various 'professional' charges were virtually ignored. Also the whole matter only arose by chance so that it is no wonder the Synod gave a gentle rap to the knuckles of the Hownam minister.

The third case was that of William Moffat, schoolmaster at Eckford. In 1722 a presbyterial visitation heard complaints against Moffat that he went to another church and quarrelled with his neighbours. Moffat agreed that he had gone to other churches, but claimed that there was ill will with neighbours. The session deposed him. The following year Moffat returned to the presbytery seeking a testimonial. The session had refused to give him one, as did the presbytery finding him "still contumacious". Two months later (May 1723) Moffat admitted the error of his ways so that he could stay on a little longer while looking for a new school. In 1726 Moffat was asked by the presbytery why he had not left and he responded that he hadn't yet gained another school. The matter was delayed till the next meeting. Then delayed again because Moffat couldn't appear because of his harvest work. In October he appeared and was told to leave. Two years later in 1728 it was reported that /

that the presbytery had gone to the Synod over Moffat and the Synod had recommended they go to the Sheriff to get rid of Moffat by law. In October 1729 the Eckford minister was told to go ahead with the appointment of a legal schoolmaster so that Moffat presumably had at last left his post. He had not, however, left the parish nor lost the goodwill of at least one heritor for the Buccleuch papers register payments to him in the 1730s for planting trees and weeding (for example, GD224/245).

This time the session sacked the schoolmaster, and the presbytery merely had to endorse that, but more interesting is the fact that the civil authorities had to be introduced; when the presbytery attempted to enforce its will, it failed.

The Young case above began with professional incompetence. Hownam seems to have suffered in this respect because Young's predecessor, Robert Elliot, also fell foul of the authorities as outlined in Chapter 4(iv). Elliot was charged with giving too little attention to the school, being incompetent, not praying with the children, and behaving imprudently. Elliot replied to the first two charges, admitted his error with regard to the third promising no further lapses, and submitted to the discipline of the church about the fourth as by so doing he would be again accepted by the parish as precentor. The minimum response necessary from the presbytery was to that last point and that is what was forthcoming; the presbytery decided to rebuke Elliot publicly from the pulpit and the moderator was to go to do it. (The Hownam minister was the same man who was gently disciplined over the Young case twenty years later.)

William /

William Scott, a later Hownam master, also had trouble. There is in the presbytery records a letter from Scott in 1763 stating that he would like back the post of precentor from which he had been suspended, although he had hardly been there long enough to take up the post. He wrote that he "had the misfortune to give offence to well disposed Christians by an unhappy stop of my conduct" and that he "did willingly submit to the discipline of the church that as far as it was in my power I might repair the injury I had done to Religion and remove the offence ... " (CH2/198/36/5/5). The session minutes show that he was session clerk, and precentor presumably, in 1764 so he must have been reinstated, but these minutes also record the confession in July 1763 of Scott and his wife to the sin of antenuptial fornication, the reason for the temporary suspension.

Scott was back in trouble again soon. He was recorded in 1780 as being not qualified by law. The question of his qualification for office seems to have begun in 1769, but, as there is a ten year gap in both session and heritors' minutes at this time (a ten year gap passibly because Scott was in trouble), we have to rely upon what reached the presbytery. In July 1769 the minister reported that he found Scott unsatisfactory. (The minister was the successor to the incumbent at the time of Elliot and Young.) The children did not profit as much as they should; he spoke roughly to children, was frequently absent "leaving care of the school to others"; his temper was rough, forbidding. The complaints were made, it was said, not to turn Scott out of a job, but as reasons for the parents' hiring someone else to teach their families. The presbytery reprimanded Scott and decided that they would not confirm him as schoolmaster at Hownam until they received more favourable reports.

In /

In 1772 the heritors were still unhappy with Scott's performance and the presbytery claimed that Hownam was without a qualified schoolmaster. In October of the next year he appeared before the presbytery and testified his appointment by the heritors in 1762, but his examination by the presbytery was delayed at his (Scott's) request. It doesn't look as if he was ever examined and certainly by 1780 his qualification was not ratified. He does seem to have remained session clerk throughout all of this.

The presbytery had been very lax in this case. The case was before them in 1763 and yet they did not check Scott's qualification. In 1769, their decision was to withhold confirmation of this position. Eleven years after his appointment by the heritors he was to be examined by the presbytery, eighteen years after his appointment he was still unqualified. Even if qualification by law, the taking of the Oath of Allegiance, was by this period less regarded by the presbytery, there still remains the examination and signing of the Confession which, although they are not on record, cannot have taken place less than eleven years after appointment.

One other schoolmaster fell foul of the qualification rules. Thomas Turnbull was first mentioned in the presbytery records in 1748 when at his house the Abbotrule schoolmaster, John Turnbull, committed adultery. The Abbotrule Turnbull was deposed and three years later there was a report that the Southdean teacher was to be sacked. Apparently Thomas, described as acting schoolmaster, took over on his father's death, received the salary, but was not qualified. The heritors permitted it at the time because of the circumstances of the widow /

widow and family, but by 1751 they were less happy. Thomas was making a nuisance of himself and wouldn't go. No doubt the relationship with the Abbotrule John didn't help. There was, therefore, a visitation of Southdean and Thomas resigned (CH2/198/10).

The difference between these last two cases is not presbyterial action, but parish action. In Scott's case he could show that he had been properly selected by the heritors, though they came to have misgivings, while Turnbull had not been appointed in the same way and the heritors weren't prepared to have him any longer. The presbytery pushed when there was an open door, but not otherwise. The minister and heritors of Hownam wanted a better performance from Scott, so that the parish school would serve its proper purpose and private schools would be unnecessary, but that was not possible. However an 'illegal' school-master, like Turnbull, not wanted by his parish, was a simple matter.

Formal issues have been components of the foregoing. Other cases came before the presbytery that involved personal failings, or alleged failings. Thomas Turnbull's father, David, at Southdean had been of adultery with a pupil, as mentioned in Chapter 4(iv). The presbytery delayed a decision until it was seen whether the girl was pregnant and when she was not the case against Turnbull was dismissed.

In Chapter 3(ii) we reported quite fully the case of Mark Richardson, the doctor to the Jedburgh grammar school. Perhaps because it was to do with the grammar school and at the presbytery seat, this case was given the full treatment: lots of witnesses, matters passing from session to presbytery and back, etc. In the end the presbytery annulled the process /

process, but by which time Richardson had resigned. This could be an example of the presbytery's giving a prominent citizen the fullest opportunity to defend himself, or it could be a tactic of giving enough rope ... Both of these sound like positive approaches, but it may also be that the presbytery was even more practical: when in doubt, wait.

The Oxnam schoolmaster, White, faced complaints in 1740 that he was too often in the ale-house instead of the school. There are no parish minutes for this period, but the matter was put before the presbytery. White was just over halfway through a forty year term of office so that he was neither inexperienced nor senile. His reply was that he was only in the alehouse when he had parish business to complete, like writing testimonials. The presbytery admonished White and told him that he should not write testimonials in the alehouse.

A few years later the Presbytery was informed that Bell of Bedrule had been accused of drunkenness. In December 1745 great concern was again expressed, but there had been a delay in the Presbytery's meeting "by reason of the Pretender's Son and Parties of Rebels going through the county". However his case was at last considered and he was deposed. It was claimed that Bell's negligence was sending scholars to private schools and that Bell did not open his school in the summer. Bell agreed with that, but indicated that this was because there were no children to teach, or not enough to make it worthwhile. Elders agreed with Bell that there had been times in the past when the school was closed in summer. As to the drunkenness, one example given was of Bell "dancing about the town green with the children after him" which /

which Bell said was just merriment.

The session records, of course, gave a fuller account of the affair, and allow us to see the irritations as well as the formal complaints. The initial accusation was of drunkenness. The minister had removed Bell from the office of precentor and the session from that of session clerk in March 1745. He was reported to have been so drunk on one occasion that he had been taken by the recruiting officer and had spent the night in jail as one that had enlisted. When confronted, Bell prevaricated and claimed he could not remember what he said or did on the cited times. The session took this as guilt, particularly as they have given him informal warnings previously. As Bell showed no penitence, he was to be censured by a public rebuke before his congregation.

In April the session was unhappy with how Bell reacted to the public rebuke and resolved to deal with him "severally and privately". By May he was back as clerk, but in June the session was unhappy again about Bell's behaviour at his public rebuke and resolved to hold another meeting, this time with external referees, three ministers and two elders from other parishes. When they called Bell to inform him of this, they found that he had left the town although he was known to have been there shortly beforehand. This was deemed contumacious. Another instance of drunkenness was produced, while he was under suspension. The next meeting was, therefore, to have evidence provided by witnesses.

The July meeting heard a paper from Bell "out of tenderness", but it didn't add anything to the matter, and it was all referred to the /

the Presbytery, which was also requested to visit the school as there had been various, but informal, complaints about the management of the school. In August, Bell was again back as clerk, but in December it was reported that Presbytery had deposed him on the grounds of his behaviour in retracting his confession, of his being drunk while under examination, being contumacious, damaging the school, etc. Even appeals like "I am a creature of your own frame. We are all compassed about with infirmity..." (CH2/198/36/6/2/65-9) were insufficient to save Bell.

This reads like an instance of parish being forced to deal with a schoolmaster who was probably well liked (had been in post for twelve years), but who had stepped beyond the bounds. He was given every opportunity by the session to repent, reform etc. Indeed once the presbytery had deposed him as schoolmaster the session had quite a discussion as to whether they should sack him also from the posts of session clerk, precentor and beadle. In the end he was dismissed from these posts. What is notable is that this is the only case on record of a firm line by the presbytery on anything other than formal matters. An Abbotrule schoolmaster was deposed for adultery in 1748, and indeed given a sentence of lesser excommunication, but there are no local records to give all the details. In Bell's case there was no question of not being qualified as his approval by the presbytery is minuted and there wasn't a loud outcry from the parishioners as we have seen. Bell's trouble was that he appeared to flout the discipline of the Church. He had mismanaged the school, but his principal sins were being drunk while under suspension (not just being drunk), publicly repudiating his public rebuke, and being /

being contumacious.

Arising from a couple of these individual cases is the matter of the attitude of the presbytery to private teachers. In the Bell case just mentioned and that of Scott of Hownam earlier, the unsatisfactory performance of the parish schoolmasters was resulting in children going to private teachers. This may have been an excuse to raise the more serious underlying problem or it may reflect the concern of the parish, perhaps particularly the heritors as paymasters, that the local public resource was being wasted. In neither case did the presbytery have any comment to make about the private teachers. The 1693 Act gave responsibility to presbyteries for the supervision of all teachers so that private teachers were within their province, but there is no attention given in the eighteenth century by the Jedburgh Presbytery. The Synod recommend presbyteries to investigate 'inadequate' private teachers in 1719, but it made reference to schools of Humanity or Philosophy so that the lack of interest by Jedburgh Presbytery may have been because that was a higher level of activity than was prevalent in their area. In the Scott affair over the Yester mortification (Chapter 3(iii)b), two women teachers were examined by the presbytery, but that was in special circumstances. The last relevant reference here would be to the presbytery's reaction during the Boston crisis to the Jedburgh English schoolmaster. Scott the grammar schoolmaster was persuaded, as parish schoolmaster, to resist the pull to the Boston Church, but Chisholm, the English master, pointed out that he was not a parish schoolmaster, but was paid and appointed by the council. He was left alone, which illustrates /

illustrates clearly the attitude of the presbytery towards the non-parochial teacher.

One last topic which is worthy of consideration in this examination of the presbytery's role is the effect on the place given to education in wider areas of church policy and organisation. To some extent we have seen this with regard to the Boston secession; the presbytery's concern was limited to the allegiance of the parish schoolmasters although a few years later, in an individual capacity, Mr. Douglas, the Jedburgh minister, and Mr. Boston officiated together at the induction of the English schoolmaster. The most prominent subject within this topic that is evident from reading the records is the reorganisation of parishes. A regrouping of parishes into different presbyteries might bring about some change. For example, the presbytery of Kelso was sliced from the presbytery of Jedburgh in 1692 and thus might have given the latter a greater interest in Jedburgh as it would then be the largest town. Equally the moving of one parish to a different presbytery could be significant. Castleton became affiliated to Langholm presbytery in 1743 and the geography alone as referred to in Chapter 2 would appear to have made that sensible if not necessary. The greatest impact was made by the abolition of a parish. No doubt these decisions were taken for good reasons, but they had long-lasting effects; Longnewton was annexed to Ancrum in 1684, but the minister's stipend issue was still rumbling round the Synod and Assembly in 1710. Crailing and Nisbet were united in 1609, but we saw in Chapters 4 and 6 the serious problems that were left for education by that union. A single church had been established for the parish and because the River Teviot went between Crailing and Nisbet an arrangement was /

was made to have a free ferry available on Sundays. However when in the eighteenth century a single parish school was proposed, in accord with the 1696 Act and because the Crailing heritor wanted the Nisbet heritor to take his share, the old divisions re-appeared because the 'act of union' was not designed to take account of a school, only the church. The Crailing heritor, Lord Cranston, was in the right legally, but he was weak personally because his finances were in a mess mainly because of his own ineptitude. The Nisbet heritor, the Marquis of Lothian, was legally in the wrong, but he was wealthy, highly respectable and very influential. The presbytery, which should have felt a moral responsibility, and certainly had a legal responsibility to intervene and implement a solution, appears to have been quite feckless. Apart from listening to the various arguments, its only action was to forward one of the schoolmaster's complaints to the Church Procurator. It cannot be that they recognised the inadequacy of the parish school and therefore didn't press for implementation of the 1696 Act because in that case they could have tried to find some satisfactory compromise. They did have muscles, but just didn't flex them and that must be because of the powerful influence of the Marquis.

It is worth noting that the problem existed into the nineteenth century. The Nisbet folk agitated for a proper salary and in 1808 the presbytery said that by the 1803 Act the Nisbet schoolmaster should be properly provided, but that it, the presbytery, had no powers, could only advise, so that it is not surprising that the Nisbet side opted out of the 1764 agreement and funded the /

the Nisbet school independently after 1822.

One reorganisation took place within the period of study, the annexation of Abbotrule, which began with a decision in 1775 by the presbytery to divide the parish between Hobkirk and Southdean. The minister was to keep his salary until a vacancy arose in one of the other parishes, and the schoolmaster was to retain his emoluments or receive a reasonable compensation. This decision was not taken without dissent and the opposition forced the approval of an amendment that a school be retained at Abbotrule "with legal salary in all times coming". The principal arguments against annexation were that it was no way to constitute a pastoral relationship, it added fuel to the Dissenting Church case, there was no accommodation for Abbotrule parishioners in the other churches. The argument in favour of annexation is not recorded, but there were replies to the arguments against. "The most experienced Brethren of the Synod" were of the opinion that annexation was the prudent thing to do; if the measures were good, the construction the dissenters put on it ought to have no influence on an honest mind ("an over anxious desire to avoid censure may sometimes defeat its own purpose and betray into injustice"); accommodation was being prepared for the extra worshippers and repairs were being made to the school.

The school, however, had been taken out of the argument for the time being. There would still be an Abbotrule parochial school and schoolmaster even though there was to be no Abbotrule parish. This compromise seemed to satisfy the Abbotrule heritors and certainly there was no contrary view expressed in the Southdean or Hobkirk /

Hobkirk records.

The Abbotrule school was in disrepair and there was no schooling in the winter 1776-77. In 1779 it was again reported that the school was in disrepair and that the schoolmaster, Adam Turnbull, was ill, but still drawing his legal salary while living in Dalkeith with his son-in-law. The heritors agreed to pay Turnbull while he lived, but proposed that the Abbotrule school should be supported by the schoolmasters at Southdean and Hobkirk. If the parish was to be annexed, so should the school. This was a change from the heritors' apparent acceptance in 1775, but the opposition in presbytery represented principally by George Dickson the minister of Bedrule, also an Abbotrule heritor, said the school should stay at Abbotrule, and the presbytery's response was to ask the Church Procurator who in 1782 concluded that, while the parish was not annexed, the heritors must maintain the school. The decision to annexe was taken in 1777, but the annexation had not yet taken place presumably because the ministers of Hobkirk and Southdean were still in post and the Abbotrule minister had not therefore had the opportunity to move.

Dickson's stance was that to suppress schools or to fail to maintain them is contrary to law, good policy "nay to goodness itself". With such a powerful view always expressed within the presbytery apparently supported by the Procurator, the presbytery did nothing. The school remained in disrepair, with the legal salary going to Dalkeith and no interim arrangement made.

Nature /

Nature brought about a change in the circumstances. The schoolmaster died in 1785. The presbytery retained their position, as per Procurator's advice, that there should be a school at Abbotrule as the parish was not yet annexed. The following year the Abbotrule heritors resolved, faithful to their earlier view, to give the Abbotrule salary to the schoolmasters of Southdean and Hobkirk; and the heritors of the other parishes were agreeable to the annexation of the school. The presbytery by this time, April 1788, seem to have come round to the heritors' view, but by then the principal of the opposition, George Dickson, had died, in June 1787,

The Church Procurator also supported the presbytery (CH2/198/36/2/11/30 and 100). While the parish was not annexed, the heritors had to support the school. When annexation took place (actually in 1784 with the death of the Southdean minister), the Abbotrule school was also annexed because the special clause of 1775 about the school did not appear in the legal document.

In 1797 there were complaints from Abbotrule parents that the parish schoolmasters of the new parishes were at a great distance and asked presbytery to support the use of the legal Abbotrule salary for the benefit of that area. The presbytery agreed that it intended at annexation that the schoolmaster's salary should remain and the ministers of Hobkirk and Southdean were asked to bring the Abbotrule heritors together to rebuild the school and appoint a schoolmaster. The heritors didn't like that idea, pointed out that no-one had disagreed earlier, that the schoolmasters of the other parishes had enjoyed the Abbotrule salary for some time and indeed that they had been stented for new schools /

schools in these parishes. The presbytery response was to call for another meeting of the heritors as the one that produced the above response was not properly convened: the presbytery records show various delays, then no mention, then in 1800 the meeting of heritors called again; but then no more.

In 1803 the Hobkirk heritors agreed to give their schoolmaster three hundred merks plus an additional one hundred merks while Abbotrule was still annexed. Southdean added fifty merks to the minimum three hundred. The annexation was, therefore, complete.

The school was clearly considered in the Abbotrule annexation, but that didn't overcome the lack of provision and attention in the period between the decision and the implementation. Also the decision must have, like the twentieth century closure of rural primary schools, disadvantaged the people of the locality. More significant here is the lack of resolve of the presbytery, even although their stance was always that suggested by the procurator and that he had, for example, told them that in the matter of the schoolhouse they had no power to compel, but merely to go to the Commissioners of Supply in a case of defiance of the 1696 provisions. Interestingly he also implied that these provisions could have been modified if the special clauses had been included in the legal document. The presbytery, however, were directed by the Procurator and by a strong-minded heritor, also a member of presbytery. Again the presbytery displayed a lack of will, if not of interest, and a failure of leadership.

What /

What then, in general, of the role of the presbytery of Jedburgh in the provision of education in the eighteenth century? The conclusion from the evidence must be that education was not a principal concern of the presbytery. It took no initiatives, it offered no guidance, it reacted when outside bodies like heritors or Synod pressed, it did the minimum it was required to do by law and that very casually, it avoided or ignored matters where the law was less clear as in, for example, school building or supervision of private teachers, and its most positive actions were to direct items to other bodies. In Chapter 2 we quoted Smout (1973) who compared Jedburgh's participation in trade to that of a cafe on the Greath North Road. The Jedburgh presbytery's role in education could be described in the same way; items were given a little air and substance before being transported elsewhere. It didn't even appear to function very efficiently as an arbiter when complaints were brought forward.

Giving an explanation for why the presbytery behaved in such a way is much more difficult. Jedburgh presbytery may just have been a weak presbytery, but that would be unlikely to have remained the position for a century if its weakness was dependent upon the quality of its members. It may be that the area had a tradition of educational provision which had grown up to meet the needs of the people in earlier times so that for the greater part of the eighteenth century it was considered adequate. All that had changed was a new law in 1696 and that only gave better conditions to the schoolmaster; it didn't improve the basic provision. One other relevant factor is the influence of heritors. As noted earlier, a few large heritors owned the greater/

greater part of the county so that their interests were prominent and more durable than transitory ministers on presbyteries or tenants in sessions.

A possible answer would be an amalgam of these three points.

The presbytery was not so much weak as complacent. Remember that it had found illegal salaries to be "conforme to the ability of the paroch" in Abbotrule in 1700 and competent "considering the place" in Bedrule in 1703. The situation at 1696 was probably not too bad with regard to a school in every parish so that there was no great deficit and the influence of the great heritors could be sufficient to continue the complacency. That is not to cast a great deal of blame on the heritors. They were, at the least, contributors to the pre-1696 situation and in the eighteenth century very often the presbytery's reaction was to heritors' pressure. Furthermore the quality of the school buildings is to the credit of the heritors and the additional provision, which became side schools in the nineteenth century, was often sponsored and supported by heritors.

The Jedburgh complacency was broken to some extent by the higher courts towards the end of the century when the age of Revolution woke the church to a level of activity that it had not experienced for several generations. The round of visitations in the 1790s might have alerted some of the clergy to the realities and certainly the call for information by Sir John Sinclair forced them all to consider the state of their parishes. Allied to the fact that their own stipends and conditions had been much improved in the 1780s, the increased awareness allowed ministers to give much support to the plight of the parish schoolmaster, but in the /

the main it was to the poor salary. The quality of education was still no concern of the Jedburgh presbytery and there was no apparent concern about the extent of the provision. It is not insignificant that in 1804 the presbytery received a copy of the 1803 Act and the minute of their consideration is: "the Presbytery order the clerk to deposit it in the Presbytery Chest for their use when necessary" (CH2/198/16).

Chapter Ten

To 1803 And After

(i) Upon Re-reading the Act of 1696

The starting point of this research was the 1696 Act and it was hoped that the research findings would help to decide whether the 1696 Act was necessary to initiate the provision of schools or to make permanent the existing provision. Drawing together the various strands of evidence from the presbytery of Jedburgh one must conclude that, as in other matters as we shall see, the simple distinction between 'found' and 'make permanent' is inadequate to explain what happened.

It is quite likely that most of the parishes in our study had schools at 1696 with salaries provided by the heritors, and all, except possibly one, by 1708. Salaries of at least one hundred merks raised from all heritors in accord with the conditions of the 1696 Act had to wait until 1720 and even then there were some irregularities in the next few years; one parish, Crailing, cannot be credited with a legal salary until 1764. In contrast schoolbuildings were less common. Only three or four parishes had schoolhouses at 1720 and it took another sixty years for all parishes to be provided with 'a commodious house for a school'. If one assesses Roxburghshire's status with regard to the 1696 Act in terms of a school in every parish with legal salary and commodious schoolhouse, then there was a clear need for the Act and indeed it was nearly the end of the eighteenth century before it was fully implemented at the most basic level.

The /

The need for the Act nationally is made even more pressing if one considers that Roxburghshire was quite a wealthy county. Nicol Graham ranked it fifth in the valuation roll of the thirty one shires in the first quarter of the eighteenth century (Laing m.s.s.). If the wealthier counties had ignored the seventeenth century legislation, then the outlook was grim for the others.

The previous chapter introduced complexity to this picture. The presbytery showed little concern about the provisions of the Act until 1714. It is doubtful if that can be so sympathetically interpreted as was done by Bain (1965), but nonetheless one cannot condemn the presbytery of Jedburgh as corrupt or seriously negligent. Complacency was the description given and that must be the judgement upon the body that was solely responsible for the quality of educational provision, but it is not so damaging if we are applying improper criteria in our assessment of the presbytery.

It may well be that the eighteenth century view of the seventeenth century legislation was different from that of twentieth century researchers, or at least the present writer. The 1646 Act was to found schools where none had existed before. Modern research has shown that there were many schools in the Lowlands by the end of the seventeenth century so that the 1696 Act with its slight difference in title was less concerned with founding, but rather making permanent. Our opening chapter showed how little was new in the 1696 Act so that one could argue that the conditions of 1646 still existed and there was a need to found and that, since the /

the 1646 terms hadn't been strengthened, the Act must have been operating satisfactorily. The Jedburgh presbytery's complacency was formed out of giving a low priority to the topic and yet their attitude may have represented the contemporary view of the Acts. We have thought that the intention of the Acts was to create or establish in every parish a school for which there was a commodious house and a salary of one hundred merks raised in a particular way. Upon re-reading the Acts, one can see that such a link is not necessarily so. It is possible that the overall aim was a school in every parish, but that the detailed matters of salary and schoolhouse applied only to those parishes "not already provided"; these details were the mechanisms for creating a school where there had been no school before. This would explain why the Jedburgh presbytery, and indeed others in the Synod, did nothing about schools between 1696 and 1714; there already was a school in every parish, certainly in the great majority of the parishes.

It also explains the blanket decision of the Commissioners of Supply who ruled that, for the county, the minimum salary should be one hundred merks, that that salary should not include mortifications, and that one hundred merks should be raised for a schoolhouse. The second and third points appeared to give clarity and strength to the 1696 Act, but the first was quite redundant. If, however, one interprets the thrust of the Act as being directed towards parishes with no school, then one can see that the Commissioners' ruling could be interpreted as a standard, based no doubt upon the 1696 Act, but intended for those parishes that were "already provided".

Thus /

Thus the overall aim was a school in every parish and the 1646 and 1696 Acts were to lay down the means of filling the gaps. Lower priority was given to the matter arising from the legislation: what to do with parishes "already provided". The majority of Roxburghshire parishes were in that capacity, hence the presbytery's complacency. The by-product of the Act, the setting of the standard for existing provision, may, in fact, have received a boost by the introduction of the term 'settling', but it cannot be concluded that 'making permanent' was the principal thrust of the Act, even if the features of 'making permanent' were needed in Roxburghshire. Such an interpretation is attractive as an explanation of what was found in the Roxburghshire records and it could be an alternative explanation for the Stirlingshire presbyteries excused by Bain (1965). It is not necessary to assert that the intention of the 1696 Act was as interpreted above, but the interpretation does explain presbyterial behaviour and it is a plausible result of reading the words of the Act. It also implies that the principal thrust of the Act was to initiate and that is what was found in Chapter 1.

10(ii) Up to the Act of 1803

Having looked at provision in terms of the 1696 Act we shall now assess more generally the educational offering in the presbytery in the eighteenth century. Buildings were slowly erected and/or improved and the melioration that did take place was mainly at the instigation of parish influences. In the burghs a less satisfactory state of affairs existed; Hawick was particularly backward with no schoolbuilding as such until 1735 and the Jedburgh Grammar school, the principal school in the presbytery, was in rented premises for long periods. Those buildings that were built were, however, at least of a size consistent with the larger populations, approximately sixteen feet by thirty feet and two storeys, which suggest that the burgh buildings were a little in advance, as we might expect, of those in the landward areas.

What the children did in these buildings was largely unremarkable. Both burghs developed the dual system of grammar and English schools with some Greek and French on offer at the former and music at the latter. The rural schools offered the three Rs, but little or no Latin; there is only one reference for the whole period to Latin outside the burghs and indeed there is evidence to show Latin not being taught. It is tempting to suggest that, as the area had a fairly well-established provision of schools, an element of specialisation with a hierarchical system had grown up. There is evidence of boarding in the burghs so that the rural schools were perhaps seen as providing elementary education only. The other finding of interest concerns attendance. Firstly, the rural schools appear often to have been part-time, for example, 'winter only' /

only' schools. Secondly, the age range of pupils was found to be very wide in rural schools, more so than in the burghs. It is possible that the burgh children went to school for a few years, up to the age of ten, then left, while rural children were in and out of school for a longer period possibly because the provision was only part-time.

What of the schoolmaster? There was a clear difference in the career patterns of the grammar schoolmaster and the rural parish schoolmaster. They appear to have had different aspirations and a different level of qualification. It may be that the quality of the parish schoolmaster declined over the century and that the Hawick developments were a concrete illustration of what happened generally, but less dramatically, elsewhere; at Hawick in 1696 there was one schoolmaster, teaching Latin and the three Rs, but in 1710 he was 'demoted' and a generously financed grammar school established. Whether the inferior schoolmasters inspired less demand for education, quantitatively and qualitatively, or whether little demand led to poor teachers is difficult to say, but there is some evidence which could suggest that the poor economic conditions led the rural teachers to take on more lucrative additional tasks which consumed more and more of their time.

From the Roxburgh evidence, that additional income was never more than one third of the total, but nevertheless it could be one third. Taking the most optimistic assessment of a parish schoolmaster's financial position in the 1790s, including an augmented salary, a small mortification, forty regular pupils and all the other parish posts, the maximum income would be £40 per /

per annum, That would place the most fortunate Roxburghshire parish schoolmaster well above the average, as given by Scotland (1969, p.129), and even the poorer paid would be above the £16 per annum quoted by the letter writer in volume twenty one of the Statistical Account. The Grammar schoolmasters were basically better off than their parish colleagues although their salary was not increased during the century. The greatest proportion of income was derived from fees and, although these increased about threefold in the period, the population change and private provision probably kept the income constant.

On a wider scale two matters became apparent when the different areas of evidence are synthesised: the blurring of categories and the secularisation of education.

We noted the blurring of categories in a more physical sense when we looked at the topic of inter-parish cooperation. The parish boundaries could be overlooked if there was a local need: the neighbouring parish schoolmaster could be paid for teaching a poor scholar or two parishes could come together to aid a remote community to establish a chapel or a school.

Secondly, the role of the Church is not nearly so clear cut as one might have expected and this will be explored later when we look at secularisation. In this context it is interesting to note that Jedburgh presbytery was, by no means, the principal agency of the Church in this matter and that the sessions played a considerable role especially in the early years. The presbytery paid most attention to Jedburgh, but even there it was the session that /

that was taking the initiative: it was involved in the nomination and examination of English schoolmasters, giving them financial support, supervising and visiting the school, and contributing to the building costs. In Hawick too the session played this 'change agent' role and handed over to the council a going concern.

Jedburgh itself provides a third example of the 'blurring', but one which has received attention elsewhere. Although a Royal Burgh, Jedburgh's grammar school was a burgh and parochial school; that is, it was run jointly by council and heritors. It straddled the traditional categories. The Jedburgh English school was more straightforward; after the initial involvement of the session it became clearly a burgh school with its master appointed and paid by the council, but even then in 1758 the session appeared to have enough influence to persuade Chisholm to give up after he had joined the Boston Church.

Comparing Jedburgh with Hawick reveals a fourth example. Even between burghs there were considerable differences which arose in part from the different kinds of burgh. Both were burghs with landward parishes, but the Jedburgh council, as that of a Royal Burgh, had a measure of independence not permitted to Hawick which, as a burgh of barony and regality, had a more immediate superior, the Duke of Buccleuch. This resulted in the Jedburgh council being involved with the heritors in the grammar school, but solely responsible, after the session's efforts, for the English school. In Hawick the council and heritors ended up with responsibility for the English school, but the council had nothing to do with the grammar school. The operation of the councils of these neighbour-

:ing /

neighbouring burghs was, therefore, quite different with regard to education.

Fifthly, the Hawick grammar school was neither a burgh school nor a parochial school, and not even a burgh and parochial school. It was originally not even a private school. If patronage is the sole criterion, then the grammar school was private because the patron was neither the council nor the minister and heritors. If financial support is a criterion, then the school was not private because, although the building was paid privately and the salary was paid privately, the maintenance of the building was public, by the heritors. It is significant that a writer describing the situation in the first quarter of the nineteenth century refers to the grammar school as 'public', but that the 'legitimate authorities' in regard to education would not be the council (Wilson, 1841, pp.102-4).

It is not just in the burghs that overlaps and distortions occur. We earlier noted the different organisations for the handling of poor relief which often established parish meetings as distinct from heritors' meetings. A sixth 'blurring' is that within these structures educational matters had a varying locus and were not limited to minister and heritors.

Drawing up broad categories and making classifications are valuable tasks for historians to undertake. Similarly they have to attempt to assess past legislation in terms of its origins, its intention and its results. The blurring effects represented above remind us that these devices are at best generalisations and that eighteenth century perceptions may differ from ours in the twentieth century. /

century. For example, it is possible that a much more pragmatic view of the law prevailed. Certainly the conclusion from this Roxburghshire study is that the decisions and arrangements reached were those that best fitted local circumstances. If all local parties were satisfied with something, then that is how it was to be. If there was a lack of direction, then the law could give a lead. If there was a dispute, then the law might form an impartial reference. Citizens of the eighteenth century would not understand our talk of 'blurring' because they did not have our image of the categories and boundaries.

The second major conclusion from the study concerns the increasing secularisation of education. This is generally recognised as a nineteenth century trend with 'first sightings' in the late eighteenth century. The Jedburgh evidence would suggest that, at least in one part of the Borders, it began much earlier and should be seen as an eighteenth century trend.

The symptoms were first spotted in Chapter 1 when looking at the changes in wording from the 1646 to the 1696 Acts. Two things were significant in that context: the presbytery was replaced by the ministers and heritors as the 'body' by whose advice the school was to be established; and the location of the schools was first described as 'places' in 1696 while it had been 'congregations' in 1646. Both of these changes imply a distancing of the church from the schools, but in themselves they are only slight evidence. They do, however, give an element of directionality.

Chapter 9 showed that the role of the presbytery of Jedburgh in the /

the eighteenth century was not extensive. Even if the eighteenth century perception of the 1696 Act was as we have suggested earlier, the presbytery of Jedburgh still limited itself to formalities and did not exercise creatively its jurisdiction over schools. Difficult decisions were often avoided by recourse to civil law. The influence of the presbytery was, therefore, negligible. The biggest single innovatory event in Roxburghshire education in the eighteenth century was the Orrock Bequest to establish the Hawick grammar school. Orrock was a minister, yet his mortification makes no reference at all to the presbytery. All the people that Orrock involved were within the parish which appears to follow the line that the changed wording at 1696 revealed, a move from presbytery to parish. Education was to be controlled, as far as possible at local level, but when it was resolved to amend 'congregation' it was replaced by 'place' and 'parish' and, similarly, the presbytery was not replaced by the session, but by the minister and heritors. Local control, therefore, but with an emphasis away from local church control.

In Chapter 4 we quoted Kerr (1910) who referred to the co-operation between minister and schoolmaster. No doubt that co-operation existed, but the relationship changed throughout the eighteenth century. The schoolmastership had developed out of a post which had been equivalent to assistant minister or, at best, substitute minister so that the schoolmaster was of inferior status to the minister. We have seen, however, that the issue of the precentorships suggested a break in the old relationship, and that the issues of church music and Sabbath schools both conveyed a move, as we put it, from beneath the shadow of the Kirk. The rural schoolmaster was clearly taking on wider functions in the community, was /

was less the agent of the session and more the agent of the heritors; it is possible to see him as an embryo local government officer for the parish.

As well as the location of control locally and the move by the schoolmaster into the wider community, there is also a hint of professionalism. O'Day (1982, p.178) states that "the evidence for the development of teaching as a profession in the early modern period is indeed ambiguous". She was referring to English education and it may well be that the Scottish experiences were more advanced. Roxburghshire showed one remarkable initiative early in the nineteenth century (Dingwall, 1931). The indications gained from this present study, however, are not so much ambiguous as fragmentary. The few examples of inter-parish co-operation show that teaching children who required to be taught could overcome organisational boundaries. In addition, the introduction of lay experts into the selection process was a distinct step and indeed the use of other teachers in that capacity was a further step. The Orrock mortification had referred to examination by "learned men" and by the end of the eighteenth century that in practice did not mean only ministers.

Chapter 4 revealed that the opening up of the selection procedure was not confined to the burghs, but also that there were some indications that different qualities were sought from candidates. It may be that, if the standard of the candidates was declining, certain assumptions could no longer be made about candidates. For example, if candidates were less likely to have been at university, there was more need to make explicit what took its place. On the other hand it could be that different qualities were sought for their /

their own sake and not just as alternatives to something else. Whatever the starting point, it did become apparent that teaching experience was a more important quality at the end of the century than it had been at the beginning. In addition, the use of newspaper advertising helped to open up the process even if there were still distinct networks for grammar and parochial schoolmaster. It cannot be suggested that these networks were in any way the first conscious steps towards professionalism, but they do constitute a framework out of which developments could take place.

These professional trends and the 'coming out of the shadow' are just indicators of the secularisation of education which has been documented elsewhere. What is new about the Roxburgh evidence is that it covers more than the previously-recognised manifestations as described in Ferguson (1978, pp.202-3): the formal challenge to the Church as in the Bothwell case, the new curriculum, and the sector of change being in the burghs.

10(iii) The Act of 1803

The 1696 Act saw the provision of schools and schoolmasters as a "pious use" of vacant stipends, but, by the time of the next Act, education had become less pious. Nonetheless the Church, threatened on different fronts, retained the wish to be the superintendent of the school system, or at least it didn't want anyone else to have that position. The clergy in the Statistical Account made clear their support of the parish schoolmaster and his need for a better salary. Improved salary and conditions would attract back better qualified teachers and a re-statement of the role of the Church would strengthen the link between education and church. These together would re-establish the position of the Church which had appeared to take a knock in the last part of the century, but which in Roxburghshire had been slipping for most of the century.

The legislation that was passed in 1803 is said to have been initiated by the loss of good schoolmasters because of the financial inflation in the 1790s and by the Government's willingness to help the schoolmasters who had suffered by their role in drawing up the lists under the Militia Act of 1797 (Withrington, 1970 (i.)). The clergy's support was also influential, but it is not the intention here to analyse those forces which brought about the Act in 1803. Certainly the Bedrule minister wrote in support of the schoolmaster, but he, the minister, was having a running battle at the time with his heritors.

The 1803 Act made the following provisions: the salary was increased /

increased to a scale of three hundred to four hundred merks with a twenty five year revision; a schoolhouse, dwelling house and garden were to be provided in accord with certain conditions; additional schools could be established with the total burden of all schools being a maximum of six hundred merks; poor scholars to be taught free; the presbytery's role in examination and approval was re-affirmed with detailed powers of deposition; it was given specific responsibility for school opening times; and the heritors involved in the process were now limited to those with a valued rent of at least £100 (Scots).

"The general effect of this Act was, strangely enough, not an increase in Church power but the beginning of sixty nine years of struggle between Church and heritors" (Findlay, 1973). Indeed Ferguson (1978, p.202) claims that "the powers exercised by the presbytery after 1803 were much diminished" and Scotland (1969, p.176) that "the greater power tended to lie with the heritors".

The most noticeable consequence in the parishes of the presbytery of Jedburgh was that the Act was given immediate attention and implementation. Simpson (1947, p.112) notes that this was also the case in Aberdeenshire and puts it down to the recognised plight of the schoolmasters and a greater respect for the "fiat of the central government". The only difficulty about the latter is that it implies there was disrespect for the Act of 1696 or, at least, for the 'fiat of central government' in 1696. If, however, there was a change in the perception of the law generally in the eighteenth century and the contemporary interpretation of the 1696 Act was, as we have earlier suggested, then Simpson's point could /

could stand; whereas the provision of the 1696 Act was something to which one should aspire, that of the 1803 Act was something which should be fulfilled.

10(iv) 1803 and After

The 1803 Act was in many respects a good piece of legislation for Roxburghshire. The salary increase was as necessary there as elsewhere, but the rate selected by the Roxburghshire heritors was more generous than might have been expected from the few augmentations of the eighteenth century: after 1803, seventy five per cent of the parishes gave above the statutory minimum. Buildings to the specifications required by the Act appear to have been in existence in most parishes, but the ruling on gardens improved the lot of the parish schoolmaster in Roxburghshire.

The extension of the system to more than one school in a parish was a valuable move for Roxburghshire. As we saw in Chapter 6, the provision offered by private teachers in general was essential to the overall provision in the eighteenth century and some of that private provision was very close to being public; for example, the Nisbet schoolmaster was appointed and paid 'publicly', but the building was private. As a result of the 1803 Act, though not always implemented quite as promptly as the salary, half of the parishes in the presbytery supported at least one 'side' school. There is also some evidence to show that, in the nineteenth century, these side schools and private schools could be as lucrative as the parish schools if the wealth of individual teachers is considered (Glaister, 1983).

No doubt these provisions in the Act could have been made more extensive and more generous and they would, therefore, have been even more acceptable. In the main they served the Roxburghshire parishes /

parishes well, but their particular weakness was with regard to the more populous parts, the burghs. Both Jedburgh and Hawick must have had about three hundred children of school age within the towns at 1803, but the public provision was virtually untouched by the Act; Jedburgh because they were unsure if it applied to them and anyhow they were committed to the additional expenditure of a large pension, and Hawick because it still operated as an ordinary parish with the heritors assessing themselves to the maximum, but supporting two side schools. It is not that the opportunities of the Act were not grasped by these authorities, but rather that the Act was just not relevant to these situations.

This shortcoming of the Act has received general attention; Smout (1972, p.443) stated that the "Achilles heel of the national system of education had been its failure to provide means for making town councils provide the good cheap schools like those that still determined the general character of the countryside". The problem is that it did not concern the folk at the time. It would appear that the legislation was not intended to deal with the towns where some council effort with a large private sector was regarded as a satisfactory way of proceeding. Somerville provided the lengthy list of private schools in Jedburgh in 1802, nine with about three hundred children, as opposed to two public schools with a total of about sixty children. These are the figures he quotes, and quotes without comment. Even more surprising is the fact that both Somerville and the Hawick minister make virtually no reference at all to education in their reports in the Statistical Account. The 'mixed economy' was, therefore, the pattern that was to be maintained. Findlay (1973) claims that /

that the nineteenth century was typified by the multiplicity of agencies providing schools and schooling, but the Roxburghshire evidence is more supportive of Bain (1965, p.122) who says that the "patchwork system" began in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Bain went on to say that that growth was "tolerated, encouraged and regulated" by the Church courts. The presbytery of Jedburgh had never been as positive as that. Its responsibility was to the "school in every parish", and the post-1803 creations; the other schools were not its business. The presbytery's outlook as interpreted throughout the eighteenth century is similar to that behind the 1803 Act: the model for the legislation was a rural parish and any other circumstances had to take care of themselves.

The 1803 restatement of the Church's position in school matters was necessary because ^{of} the uncertainties that had occurred, but, because the Act was not comprehensive in its coverage of the existing providing agencies, further uncertainties were likely. The conditions that were established were essential for a presbytery, like Jedburgh, which had only ever done that which was clearly stipulated in the legislation. The details about house and garden were the kind of thing that a presbytery could have acted upon without the 1803 Act, but because there was no specific reference previously the Jedburgh presbytery had done little. What had been achieved was because of the efforts at parish level. Again the specific charge to advise upon opening hours was the kind of guidance which the Jedburgh presbytery needed /

needed because it wouldn't take such an initiative itself.

If indeed they acted upon this matter as did the Aberdeenshire presbyteries, reducing the school day (Simpson, 1947, p.54), they would, in fact, have merely been making formal that which had been the practice.

As an advance upon the situation of the eighteenth century the 1803 Act was helpful to the schoolmasters and to the presbytery. The reduction of the number of heritors involved probably affected Roxburghshire less than elsewhere because that area was dominated already by a few heritors. In practice, therefore, the power remained where it had always been. It would perhaps disenfranchise a few "ignorant small farmers" (Scotland, 1969, p.176) and even "semi-ignorant small farmers" (Bain, 1965, p.166), but there was no evidence from Roxburghshire that they had been particularly troublesome. What this did mean was that some small heritors, perhaps with families of school age, were distanced a little from the control of their school and similarly the schoolmaster would become a little more remote again.

The parochial school system, therefore, appears to have worked well in the presbytery of Jedburgh. Although always within the limits prescribed by law, the formalities were observed even if the quality was apparently ignored. The formalities, however, were not allowed to take precedence because pragmatism, practicability and what the local people wanted were always given prior consideration. The drawbacks for Roxburghshire lay within the drawbacks of the parochial system and the misfortune that it was only the parochial system that was covered by legislation. The Church found in the nineteenth /

nineteenth century that the parish structure was inadequate for Church purposes, and in education it had much earlier shown itself to be unwilling to cope with a national system outwith that structure. This Roxburghshire study leads one to regret that the Church had not been more active and more creative in its superintendence of schools in the eighteenth century. As Lewis (1834, p.55) puts it: "It cannot be too often repeated that the mere planting of schools is not enough; means must be taken to secure an education superior in quality".

Appendix One1656 Contract

"At Jedburgh the fifteenth day of October in the year of God fifteen hundred and fifty six years. It is contracted and agreed upon betwixt the Heritors of the Land Parish of Jedburgh and the Provost Bailies Councillors and Heritors within the Burgh of Jedburgh under subscribing anent the calling and electing of the Schoolmaster of the School of Jedburgh, in all time coming and anent the duties to be performed by them to him, who shall serve at the said place from time to time. That the Rules and articles after set down shall be performed by all parties to other viz.

First In respect the Parish of Jedburgh consists of a free Burgh and a land Parish, who have both an equal interest in the School of Jedburgh and provisions thereof for the electing and calling of a Schoolmaster whenever the place shall vaik, either by the expiring of a Contract or Indenture or any other ways. It is mutually condescended on by both Town and Land Parish that in the Tenir above mentioned, that it shall be lie-some to the Provost and Bailies of the said Burgh and the Minister of the Parish to condescend upon a day for Meeting with the Heritors, and shall advertise every Heritor of the said Parish that the School vaikes, and desire them to come to Jedburgh the said day condescended upon for providing the School with a qualified man, which advertisement shall be also made from the pulpit by the Minister, that none may pretend ignorance, and upon convening of the Magistrates and Council of the Town and the Heritors that they /

they choose seven persons on either side eleven whereof to be a quorum there being five of them on ilk side and power given to these for calling and electing a Schoolmaster and agreeing with him, they doing nothing that may bring any further burden upon the said parish and the said Burgh than already agreed upon. And in case they convene, not the first diet that there shall be a second advertisement as aforesaid to a second diet: and if the Heritors give not at all their compearance then there shall be a third diet: and a third advertisement, as aforesaid and lest that the School suffer prejudice it is condescended that they who shall compear with an equal number from the Town shall proceed to the election and calling of a Schoolmaster for that time they doing nothing in prejudice of these rules and articles now condescended upon nor taking upon them to burden the Burgh or Heritors any further, whose right to elect and call as above mentioned shall remain upon any new occasion.

Secondly that the Schoolmaster in the said School shall be obliged in all time coming to enter the School with the Scholars ilk week day at six hours and to teach them till nine hours in the morning and at ten till twelve hours at two hours afternoon till six hours at night and that they shall have the play from four hours of the afternoon of the Wednesday and Thursday, and on Saturday from three hours till night, and that he enter the School with his Scholars on the Sabbathday at eight hours in the morning and there catechise them in the grounds of Religion, till betwixt the second and third Bell, and then that he shall enter the church with them, and the afternoon to convene at the Second Bell, and go to Church the same way, and that he shall take care that none be absent nor go out of Church, and that they spend not their time idle, being in /

in the Church but hear reverently, and that account be taken of them in the afternoon when the sermons are ended and that he take care that on the sabbath and play days good order be kept when they are out of School.

Thirdly that the Schoolmaster shall be obliged to teach the poor of the Burgh or Parish gratis having the Testificate of the Minister Magistrates and Elders who shall testify that they are not able to pay their quarters payment. Fourthly. That all children within Burgh from six to fourteen years old that are found by the Magistrates Minister or Elders ought to be put to School and are not in that case the parents to be liable to pay their quarter payments to the Schoolmaster however.

Fifthly. That there be a visitation of the School on the first Wednesday of November and May in the year by the Patrons of the School and Minister of the Parish and such as they shall call for their assistance, that both Schoolmaster and Doctor be tried concerning the Soundness of their Judgement in Matters of Religion, their Abilities for the discharge of their Calling, and the honesty of their conversation, and their fidelity and diligence and the proficiency of their Scholars in piety and learning may appear, and deficiency may be censured accordingly.

Sixthly. That the said persons from the Burgh and Land Parish shall have power to look out for and Choose an able Doctor who can at least teach the rudiments, write well and teach music, if such a Doctor can be had who shall have whatever had formerly.

Seventhly. It is condescended and agreed upon by both the said parties that the Schoolmaster shall have whatever he and his predecessors had formerly paid him by the Heritors of the Parish, Burgh /

Burgh and Kirk session with this provision that in respect the
Hundred pounds money payable by the Land Parish to the School-
master was at first appointed to the Schoolmaster reader at the
Kirk of Jedburgh, that what shall be appointed hereafter by any
having power to be paid by the heritors of the Land Parish to
any reader or precenter at the said Kirk, that it shall be taken
off the firend of the said Hundred pounds and the Heritors to be
no further burdened. Eightly it is likewise condiscended upon
and agreed by both parties that lawful advertisement being made
by the Magistrates of the said Burgh to the Heritors of the said
Parish by letter to the first diet and public Intimation being
made by the Minister from the Pulpit, that if there be not a full
meeting at that diet that those who shall then appear shall appoint
a second diet, and their advertisement to be only from the Pulpit:
And if there be not a full meeting and conclusion at the Second diet
that they shall appoint a third diet, and likewise advertisement
to be only given from the pulpit, and that these who shall then
compear shall have power to conclude conform to the articles
above written. "

(HR172/15/2)

Appendix Two

Extract from Orrock Mortification

"DECLARING the first terms payment of the said mortified @ rent to be and begin at the first term of Whitsunday or Mertimes next and immediately following my decease, and so furth to continue yearly in all tyme comeing AS ALSO PROVYDING and DECLARING as its hereby PROVYDED and DECLARED that what @ rents shall be found due by the saids persons debtors in the respective Bonds above mentioned at the foresaid term of payment shall be employed in Building a Schoolhouse and dwelling house to the said Schoolmaster of Hawick, and further declaring that the said yearly @ rent of the said mortifications shall be furthecomeing and payable to Mr James Innes, present Schoolmaster at Hawick, so long as he is pleased to continue in office there and behaves himself suitably. AND ALL this under the express provisions, restrictions, conditions and limitations underwryten, vizt., That Her Grace, Ann, Dutchess of Buccleugh, her aires and successors or their commissioners and Factors in their absence, have the presentatione and nominatione of the said Schoolmaster, whose ability and gift of teaching youth is to be tryed by the Minister for the tyme and such other learned men as the majea part of the resideing Heretors shall nominate and condescend upon for that effect, AND in case her Grace, Ann, Dutchess of Buccleugh, and her foresaids shall not within the space of Six months after the vaccancie nominate and present a qualified man to the Minister and heriteas to be tryed and examined in manner above exprest, That, then and immediately after elapsing of the said six months it shall be leisum (allowable) and free for the major /

major part of the resideing heriters to present such a man to the Minister and Elders to be tryed and examined as said is, AS LYKEWAYS it is hereby declared that during the vaccancy of the said School the interest of the said mortified principal sume of Nine thousand merks shall be imployed in buying what Books shall be judged necessary for assisting the said Schoolmaster in instructing the youth committed to his charge, AND ALSO it is provided that the said Schoolmaster shall be obliged to teach the poor children of the Paroch gratis, vizt., such as the Minister and Heriters shall find have a genius for learning and doe sufficiently prove their inability to pay School wages. And I hereby give full power to the said Schoolmaster to uplift and receive the @ rent of the said Nine thousand merks mortified as said is yearly in all tyme comeing after the term of payment above wryten, and if need beis to call and persue therefor as accords of the law Acquittances and Discharges thereof in haill or in part to grant, suscryve and deliver which shall be sufficient to the receivers and generall every other thing to doe yranent (thereanent) that I might have done myself before the granting hereof; AND further, it is hereby PROVIDED and DECLARED that in case the above named persons, debtors in the Bonds above mentioned, shall be likely to prove insolvent or unwilling to keep the samen any longer in their hands, That, then and in that case the Minister and elders for the tyme and major part of the resideing heriters are hereby impowered to uplift, call and persue for the samen and grant Discharges therefor, and upon receipt of the same to reemploy and give out again of new the said mortified summ to any responsall person or persons (Her Grace, Ann, Dutchess of Buccleugh, and her foresaids being always satisfied with the responsality of the Debtors, to whom it shall be lent and /

and with the sufficiencie of the security to be given for the same, provyding there be access to Her Grace and her foresaids for obtaining her consent, and if otherways it shall be leisum for the Minister and Elders and major part of the resideing Heriters to give out the said soumes to such as they shall judge responsall. AS ALSO it is hereby expressly declared that it shall noways be leisum to the Minister, Schoolmaster, Elders or any other person above mentioned to alienate or dispone upon the principal Soumes above wryten or any part thereof or @ rents of the same for any other ends or uses whatsoever except those above exprest, the foresaid principal Soume of nine thousand merks being to remain as a propetuall mortified soume, and the @ rent thereof to be employed in manner foresaid, with full power to her Grace, the said Ann, Dutchess of Buccleugh, and her foresaids to call the said Minister, Elders and Heriters above mentioned to ane accompt of their administration and to oblige them to make restitutions for the uses foresaid in case they shall to have maleverst, I hereby earnestly intreating Her Grace and her foresaids to accept of the trouble of this Trust."

(Watters, 1927, pp.41-2.)

Appendix Three Lists of Named Teachers

(Note: dates underlined are confirmed admissions/demissions while the remainder are the earliest/latest references.)

a) Burgh Schools.

Grammar Schoolmasters, Jedburgh

<u>1696-1720</u>	James Brown
<u>1721-1729</u>	Robert Chisholm
<u>1729-1734</u>	Robert Petrie
<u>1734-1767</u>	James Scott
<u>1767-1767</u>	William Wilson
<u>1767-1770</u>	George Panton
<u>1771-1803</u>	James Brewster

Doctors of the Grammar School, Jedburgh

<u>1699-1713</u>	James Jamison
<u>1713-1717</u>	Andrew Dodds
<u>1717-1719</u>	William Riddell
<u>1719-1722</u>	Robert Marr
<u>1722-1729</u>	Mark Richardson
<u>1729-1737</u>	Archibald Wallace
<u>1737-1739</u>	Robert Chisholm

English Schoolmasters, Jedburgh /

English Schoolmasters, Jedburgh

1698	Gabriel Hamilton
1698-1700	Adam Rutherford
<u>1702-1705</u>	James Henderson
<u>1702-1729</u>	William Rutherford
1715	George Martine
1716-1726	Mungo Thomson
1729- <u>1739</u>	Thomas Caverhill
- <u>1739</u>	Robert Turnbull
<u>1739-1739</u>	John Turnbull
<u>1739-1758</u>	Robert Chisholm
<u>1739-1741</u>	George Martine (younger)
<u>1760</u>	Arthur Elliot
1765- <u>1767</u>	James Kennedy
<u>1767</u>	John Clerk (senior)
<u>1767-1792</u>	John Clerk (junior)
<u>1793-1803</u>	Robert Blaikie

Grammar Schoolmasters, Hawick

<u>1710-1718</u>	James Innes
<u>1718-1721</u>	Robert Chisholm
<u>1721-1746</u>	James Anderson
<u>1747-1775</u>	William Dyce
<u>1786-1787</u>	George Lamb
<u>1788-1798</u>	Thomas Barry
<u>1798-1818</u>	James Kirk

English Schoolmasters, Hawick

<u>1669-1722</u>	John Purdom
<u>1737-1747</u>	Walter Turnbull
<u>1751</u>	Alexander Brown
<u>1756-1806</u>	James Inglis

b) Parish SchoolmastersAbbotrule

1720	John Kerr
- <u>1740</u>	John Turnbull
1751	Robert Nicol
<u>1779-1785</u>	Adam Turnbull

Ancrum

1712-1720	George Henderson
1721- <u>1774</u>	Patrick Smith
<u>1774-1777</u>	William Black
<u>1777-1826</u>	John Scott

Bedrule

1692- <u>1717</u>	Alexander Hog
<u>1717-1726</u>	James Turnbull
<u>1726-1733</u>	James Turnbull
<u>1733-1745</u>	William Bell
<u>1746-1759</u>	William Leyden
<u>1759-1791</u>	James Ker
1795- <u>1799</u>	William Irvine
<u>1799-1838</u>	James Innes

Cavers /

Cavers

1699-1735	James Oliver
1739- <u>1796</u>	Ebenezer Oliver
1798-1805	Andrew Scott

Crailing

1704-1709	William Moffat
- <u>1717</u>	James Turnbull
1720	Patrick Sibbald
1740- <u>1781</u>	Robert Cranston
<u>1781-1782</u>	Robert and David Aitken
<u>1782-1838</u>	Robert Aitken

Eckford

(1705	John Scott)
1699-1703	Alex Broomfield
1703-1713	John Fraser
1713-1730	William Moffat
1730-1733	James Turnbull
1733- <u>1767</u>	John Clerk
<u>1767-1798</u>	Richard Rutherford
<u>1798-1826</u>	Robert Rutherford

Hobkirk

1720	William Davidson
1722- <u>1750</u>	Samuel Oliver
<u>1751-1808</u>	William Armstrong

Hownam

<u>1706-1717</u>	Andrew Dods
1720-1722	Robert Elliot
<u>1726-1745</u>	John Young
<u>1746-1748</u>	George Willis
<u>1749-1762</u>	Thomas Wilson
<u>1762-1797</u>	William Scott
1800-1801 Hall
1802-1807	... Robson

Kirkton

1708-1716	Robert Mannell
1716-1724	Robert Nicol
1724-1732	George Gray
1743-1746	John Turnbull
1751- <u>1761</u>	Robert Elliot
<u>1761-1786</u>	Thomas Wilson
<u>1786-1787</u>	Walter Scott
<u>1787-1795</u>	Andrew Scott
<u>1797-1799</u>	James Innis
<u>1799-1826</u>	Thomas Little

Minto

1718-1726	Walter Turnbull
1726-1738	Zaccheus Laurie
1747-1775	David Watson
1787-1826	George Scott

Oxnam /

Oxnam

1699-1709	James Young
1712	Thomas Bell
1717	John Cranston
1717- <u>1757</u>	Jo nathon White
<u>1757</u> -1765	William Huggan
1770	Andrew Gardner
1775- <u>1782</u>	Thomas Scott
<u>1782</u> -1795	John Easton
<u>1795</u> -1805	Robert Smith

Southdean

1734-1735	David Turnbull
1748- <u>1751</u>	Thomas Turnbull
1759	John Scott
1770- <u>1772</u>	William Preston
<u>1772</u> -1797	John Turnbull
<u>1797</u> -1800	John Irvine
1800-1826	Thomas Armstrong

Wilton

1694- <u>1696</u>	Walter Turnbull
1710-1714	John Bealie
1716- <u>1756</u>	Robert Wilson
<u>1756</u> -1782	Samuel Irwin
<u>1782</u> -1785	Robert Stewart
<u>1785</u> -1787	Robert Alexander
<u>1792</u> -1810	James Elliot

c) Private TeachersAncrum

1719	Patrick Smith, Belses
1740	Andrew Smail, Longnewton

Bedrule

1691-1701	Margaret Lillico, Newton
1732	Helen Blaik, Newton
1759	James Curry, Rucastle

Cavers

1765-70	George Tranter, Denholm
1771	Janet Turnbull, "
1788-90	Reverend James Duncan, Denholm
<u>1755-57</u>	Arthur Elliot, Caerlanrig
<u>1757-61</u>	Thomas Wilson, "
<u>1762-63</u>	John Pott, "
<u>1763-67</u>	Robert Stewart, "

Crailing

1757-65	William Christie, Nisbet
1758	William Wilson, "
<u>1765-68</u>	Andrew Gardner, "
<u>1768-71</u>	Walter Scott, "
<u>1771-79</u>	Robert Robson, "
<u>1779-94</u>	Robert Hislop, "
<u>1795</u>	Thomas Douglas, "
1802	Mark Aitken, "
1796	Richard Scott, Crailing Mill

Eckford /

Eckford

- 1794 Adam Davidson, Caverton
 1802 Matthew Davidson, Caverton

Hawick

- 1701 Robert Cook, Braxholm
 1721 Isobel Henry
 1723 John Reid, Raesknowe
 1724 Isobel Betie
 1734-75 Janet Scott
 1767 Isobel Amoss
 1787 Mr Flintuff
 1789 Mr Turnbull
 1794 Mr Jardin
 1794 Jean Paisley

Hobkirk

- 1726 Robert Nicol, Hallrule

Hownam

- 1747-50 Isobel Douglas

Jedburgh

- 1700-07 James Mack
 1707 John Cavers, Edgarston
 1709 Jean and Sarah Stagg
 1711 Katherine Haliburton
 1715 Margaret Richardson
 1718-21 Bessy Alison
 1724 /

Jedburgh (continued)

1724	Margaret Grieve
1724	Jannet Oliver, Lanton
1737-40	Agnes Turnbull
1754-6	Mrs Elizabeth Brown
1755	Agnes Tully
1757	Janet Cesford
1761	Isobel Storey, Lanton
1766	Janet Richardson
1769	Mr Flintuff
1786-1802	Mary Robertson
1796-1802	William Christie
1802	Andrew Clark
"	William Thomson
"	Mrs Davidson
1787-1802	Esther Easton
1802	G Dickson
"	Widow Gibson
"	Widow Trotter
"	Agnes Turnbull
"	George Turnbull, Langton
"	Mr Davidson, Bonjedward
"	J Oliver, Camptown.

Kirkton

1761-65	James Weir
---------	------------

Southdean

1794-97	John Irvine
---------	-------------

Wilton /

Wilton

1722	Isobel Ker, Borthwickhaugh
1801	Thomas Scott
1801	James Kessal

Bibliographya) Primary SourcesBorders Regional Council (Regional Office, Newtown St. Boswells)

Roxburgh	6/4/1	Cavers Parish
----------	-------	---------------

Borders Regional Council (Roxburgh District Council Office, Hawick)

Hawick	1/1	Hawick Burgh Council
Jedburgh	1/1	Jedburgh Burgh Council

Edinburgh University Library

Laing	Mss	Laing Collection, vol.III, fo.538
-------	-----	-----------------------------------

National Library

Minto	Mss	Minto Family Papers
-------	-----	---------------------

Scottish Record Office

B31	Hawick Burgh Council
B38	Jedburgh Burgh Council
CC18	Commissariat of Peebles
CH1	General Assembly of the Church of Scotland
CH2/265	Synod of Merse and Teviotdale
CH2/198	Presbytery of Jedburgh
CH2/375	Wilton Kirk Session
CH2/552	Jedburgh Kirk Session
CH2/666	Hownam Kirk Session
CH2/1118	Cavers Kirk Session
CH2/1122	Hawick Kirk Session
CH2/1159	Crailing Kirk Session
CH2/1232	/

CH2/1232	Oxnam Kirk Session
CH3/350	Jedburgh Associate Congregation
E57	Forfeitures
E69	Hearth Tax
E70	Poll Tax
E72	Customs Books
E82	Common Good Accounts
E326	Assessed Taxes Schedules
GD1	Miscellaneous Accessions
GD6	Biel Muniments
GD95	SSPCK Papers
GD157	Scott of Harden Collection
GD178	Horsburgh - Porter Collection
GD205	Bennett of Grubbet Papers
GD224	Buccleuch Muniments
GD237	Papers of Scotts of Mangerton, Gala and Stewartfield
HR18	Bedrule Heritors
HR172	Jedburgh Heritors
HR191	Southdean Heritors
HR199	Hownam Heritors
HR202	Crailing Heritors
HR277	Kirkton Heritors
HR312	Hobkirk Heritors
HR321	Ancrum Heritors
HR390	Wilton Heritors
HR495	Hawick Heritors
HR530	Eckford Heritors
JP14	Justices of the Peace, Roxburghshire
OPR780 /	

OPR780	Ancrum Kirk Session
OPR782	Bedrule Kirk Session
OPR790	Hobkirk Kirk Session
OPR794	Kirkton Kirk Session
OPR800	Minto Kirk Session
OPR802	Oxnam Kirk Session
OPR810	Wilton Kirk Session

National Register of Archives (Scotland)

Roxburghe Roxburghe Muniments, NRA(S) Survey 1100.

Printed Materials

O.S.A. The Statistical Account
 1791-99, SINCLAIR, J (ed)
 New edition, GRANT, I.R. and
 WITHRINGTON, D.J. (eds)
 vol. III, 'The Eastern Borders',
 EP Publishing, 1979.

N.S.A. The New Statistical Account, Edinburgh, 1843.

PP1826 British Parliamentary Papers XVIII (95),
 Answers to Queries from Sheriffs

PP1841 British Parliamentary Papers XIX (64),
 Answers Made by Schoolmasters in Scotland
 to Queries Circulated in 1838 ...

Maitland, 1840 Maitland Club Miscellany, 1840, 2 (1).

S.B.R.S., 1881 Scottish Burgh Records Society Miscellany,
 1881.

b) Secondary Sources

- ADAMSON, D. (1980) 'Why They Sacked John Fraser', Transactions of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 60.
- ALLARDYCE, A.(ed.)(1888) Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th Century from the mss. of John Ramsay, Esq., of Ochtertyre, Edinburgh, William Blackwood & sons.
- BAIN, A.(1965) 'Education in Stirlingshire', London, University of London Press.
- BAIN, A.(1974) The Education Act of 1696 in West Lothian, Department of Educational Studies Publication Number 1, Callendar Park College of Education.
- BAIN, A.(n.d.) The Life and Times of the Schoolmaster in Central Scotland in the 17th and 18th Centuries, Department of Educational Studies Publication Number 3, Callendar Park College of Education.
- BALMER, R.(1845) Academical Lectures and Pulpit Discourses, 2 vols, Edinburgh, William Oliphant and Sons.
- BARROW, G.W.S.(ed.)(1974) The Scottish Tradition, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press.
- BEALE, J.M.(1953) History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife from the Reformation to 1872, Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- BEALE, J.M.(1955) 'Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters in the 17th Century', Scottish Genealogist, 11(2), pp.7-14.
- BEALE, J.M.(1956) 'Scottish Education and the Act of 1696' in DONALDSON, G.(ed.) Common Errors in Scottish History, Historical Association Pamphlet Number G32, London.
- BEALE, J.M.(1983) History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife, WITHRINGTON, D.J. (ed.), Hodder & Stoughton for the Scottish Council for Research in Education. (Forthcoming publication.)
- BEVERIDGE, C.(n.d.) 'Childhood and Society in 18th Century Scotland' in DWYER, J., MASON, R.A. and MURDOCH, A. New Perspectives on the /

- the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland, Edinburgh, John Donald.
- BLACK, W.G. (1893) Handbook of Scottish Parochial Law, Edinburgh, William Green & Sons.
- BOYD, W. (1961) Education in Ayrshire Through Seven Centuries, London, University of London Press.
- BREMNER, D. (1969, new edition) The Industries of Scotland, Newton Abbott, David & Charles
- BROWN, R.L. (1972) Robert Burn's Tour of the Borders, Ipswich, Boydell Press.
- BROWNING, J.D. (ed.) (1979) Education in the 18th Century, New York and London, Garland Publishing.
- BURLEIGH, J.H.S. (1960) A Church History of Scotland, London, Oxford University Press.
- BURNETT, J.G. (1927) 'Election of a Schoolmaster by Comparative Trial in 1713', Scottish Historical Review, 24.
- CAGE, R.A. (1981) The Scottish Poor Law 1745-1845, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press.
- CAMPBELL, R.H. (1965) Scotland since 1707: the Rise of an Industrial Society, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- CAMPBELL, R.H. (1967) 'The Industrial Revolution: a Revision Article', Scottish Historical Review, 46.
- CAMPBELL, R.H. (1974) 'The Union and Economic Growth' in RAE, T.I. (ed.) The Union of 1707, Glasgow, Blackie.
- CHITNIS, A.C. (1976) The Scottish Enlightenment, London, Croom Helm.
- COOPER, S. (1973) The 1872 Education Act in Lanarkshire, Hamilton College of Education Publication Number 3.
- CORMACK, A.A. (1965) Education in the 18th Century - Parish of Peterculter, Banffshire Journal.
- COX, J.T. (1976, 6th edition) Practice and Procedure in the Church of Scotland, Committee on General Administration of the Church of Scotland.
- CRAIGIE, J. (1970) A Bibliography of Scottish Education before 1872, London, University of London Press.
- CRUICKSHANK, /

- CRUICKSHANK, M. (1970) A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland, London, University of London Press.
- DAVIE, G.E. (1961) The Democratic Intellect, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- DEAN, I.F.M. (1930) Scottish Spinning Schools, London, University of London Press.
- DINGWALL, A. (1931) 'A Forlorn Hope', Scottish Educational Journal, 5 June.
- DODGSHON, R.A. (1972) 'The Removal of Runrig in Roxburghshire and Berwickshire 1680-1766', Scottish Studies, 16.
- DODGSHON, R.A..(1975) 'Farming in Roxburghshire and Berwickshire on the Eve of Improvement' Scottish Historical Review, 54.
- DONALDSON, G. (1974) Scotland: the Shaping of a Nation, Newton Abbot, David and Charles.
- DOUGLAS, G . (1899) History of the Border Counties, Blackwood, Edinburgh.
- DOUGLAS, R. (1798) A General View of Agriculture in the Counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, London.
- DRUMMOND, A.L. & BULLOCH, J. (1973) The Scottish Church 1688-1843, Edinburgh, Saint Andrew Press.
- DURIE, A.J. (1979) The Scottish Linen Industry in the 18th Century, Edinburgh, John Donald.
- EDGAR, J. (1893) History of Early Scottish Education, Edinburgh, James Thin.
- EDINBURGH EVENING COURANT
- ELLIOT, M. (1976) 'Parish Schools in Berwickshire in the 17th Century', History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 40(3).
- ELLIOT, M. (1977) 'Parish Schools in Berwickshire in the 17th Century', History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 41(1)
- FENTON, A. (1974) 'Scottish Agriculture and the Union: an Example of Indigenous Development' in RAE, TI (ed.) The Union of 1707, Glasgow, Blackie.
- FENTON, A. (1976) Scottish Country Life, Edinburgh, John Donald.
- FENTON, A & WALKER, B. /

- FENTON, A. & WALKER, B. (1981) The Rural Architecture of Scotland, Edinburgh, John Donald.
- FERGUSON, W. (1964) 'The Making of the Treaty of Union', Scottish Historical Review, 43.
- FERGUSON, W. (1978, paperback edition) Scotland, 1689 to the Present, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd.
- FINDLAY, I.R. (1973) Education in Scotland, Newton Abbott, David and Charles.
- FLINN, M. (ed.)(1977) Scottish Population History, Cambridge University Press
- FOSTER, W.R. (1975) The Church before the Covenant, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press.
- FRANKLIN, T.B. (1951) A History of Scottish Farming, London, Thomas Nelson and Sons.
- GALT, J. (1821) Annals of the Parish, Edinburgh, Blackwood and Cadell.
- GALT, J. (n.d.) 'The Mem, or schoolmistress' in GORDON, I.A. (ed.)(1978) Selected Short Stories of John Galt, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press.
- GLADSTONE, D.E. (1983) review in Scottish Historical Review, 62(1), of CAGE, R.A. 'The Scottish Poor Law'.
- GLAISTER, R.T.D. (1983) 'Estates of Schoolmasters and Ministers in Roxburghshire in the 19th Century, Scottish Historical Review, 62(2)
- GORDON, Mrs. (1869) The Home Life of Sir David Brewster, Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas.
- GRAHAM, H.G. (1901, 3rd edition) The Social Life of Scotland in the 18th Century, London, Adam and Charles Black.
- GRANT, J. (1876) History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, Glasgow, William Collins & Co.
- GROOME, F.H. (ed.)(1885) Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: a survey of Scottish Topography, vol.6, Edinburgh, T.C. Jack.
- GULVIN, C. (1971) 'The Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry 1707-60', Scottish Historical Review, 52.
- GULVIN, C. (1973) /

- GULVIN, C. (1973) The Tweedmakers, Newton Abbott, David and Charles.
- HALDANE, A.R.B. (1952) The Drove Roads of Scotland, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- HAMILTON, H. (1963) An Economic History of Scotland in the 18th Century, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- HANDLEY, J.E. (1953) Scottish Farming in the 18th Century, London, Faber and Faber.
- HARDING, A.W. (1975) Education in Perthshire, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Dundee University.
- HERON, R. (1799) Scotland Delineated, Edinburgh.
- HILSON, O. (1922) 'An Old Border Schoolmaster', Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society.
- HUME BROWN, P. (1909) 'Scotland in the 18th Century', Scottish Historical Review, 6.
- HUMES, W.M. & PATERSON, H.M. (eds.) (1983) Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980, Edinburgh, John Donald.
- HUNTER, S.L. (1968) The Scottish Educational System, Oxford, Pergamon Press.
- INNES, C. (1860) Scotland in the Middle Ages, Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas.
- JEFFREY, A. (1857-64) The History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire, (4 vols.) Jedburgh, Walter Easton.
- JESSOP, J.C. (1931) Education in Angus, London, University of London Press.
- JONES, M.G. (1938) The Charity School Movement in the 18th Century, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- KELSO MAIL
- KENNEDY, W.N. (1870(i)) 'Gideon Scott' Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society.
- KENNEDY, W.N. (1870(ii)) 'Tom Jenkins', Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society
- KERR, J. (1910) Scottish Education, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- KIRBY /

- KIRBY, P.R. (1965) Sir Andrew Smith,
Cape Town, A.A. Balkema.
- KNOX, H.M. (1953) Two Hundred and Fifty Years of
Scottish Education, Edinburgh,
Oliver and Boyd.
- KYD, J.G. (1952) 'Scottish Population Statistics',
Scottish History Society, 3rd series,
44.
- LAW, A. (1965) Education in Edinburgh in the 18th
Century, London, University of London
Press.
- LEWIS, G. (1834) Scotland, a half-educated Nation,
Glasgow, Collins.
- LOCHHEAD, M. (1948) The Scots Household in the 18th Century,
Edinburgh, Moray Press.
- LOCKHART, D.G. (1983) The Evolution and Distribution of
the Planned Villages of Scotland, D301
course material, Open University in
Scotland.
- LOGUE, K.J. (1979) Popular Disturbances in Scotland
1780-1815, Edinburgh, John Donald.
- LYTHE, S.G.E. & BUTT, J. (1975) An Economic History of Scotland,
Glasgow, Blackie
- MABON, W.W. (1936) Religious Education in an Old Parish
School, Transactions of Hawick
Archaeological Society.
- MABON, W.W. (1939) A Village Bicker, Transactions of the
Hawick Archaeological Society.
- MACAULAY, G.C. (1908) James Thomson, London, Macmillan
and Co.
- MACKAY, A.W. (1969) The History of the Parochial School
of Dalkeith, unpublished M.Ed. thesis,
Edinburgh University.
- MACKENZIE, W.M. (1949) The Scottish Burghs, Edinburgh,
Oliver and Boyd.
- MASON, J. (1935) History of Scottish Experiments in
Rural Education, London,
University of London Press.
- MASON, J. (1954) 'Scottish Charity Schools of the
18th Century',
Scottish Historical Review, 33.
- MILLER, W.F. (1910) /

- MILLER, W.F. (1910) 'Notes on Early Friends' Schools in Scotland', Journal of the Friends Historical Society, 7(3).
- MITCHISON, R. (1982, 2nd edition) A History of Scotland, London, Methven.
- MORGAN, A. (1927) Rise and Progress of Scottish Education, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd
- MURDOCH, P. (1773) 'An Account of the Life of James Thomson' in The Works of James Thomson, 4 vols., London.
- O'DAY, R. (1982) Education and Society 1500-1800, London, Longman.
- PATERSON, T.H. (1829) Memoirs, Poems and Tales, Jedburgh, W. Easton.
- PAUL, S.B. (1928-30) 'Kelso: a Border Presbytery in the 18th Century', Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiastical Society, 9.
- PIGOT, J. (1820-6) The Commercial Directory of Scotland, Manchester, J. Pigot and Co.
- PRYDE, G.S. (1965) The Burghs of Scotland, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- RAE, T.I. (1979) Introduction to GRANT, I.R. and WITHRINGTON, D.J. The Statistical Account, (new edition), vol. 3, 'The Eastern Borders', E.P. Publishing.
- REED, J. (1975) The Border Ballads, London, Athlone Press.
- REITH, J. (n.d.) Life of Dr. John Leyden, Galashiels, A Walker and Son.
- ROBERTSON, C.J.A. (1983) Origins of the Scottish Railway System 1722-1844, Edinburgh, John Donald.
- ROBERTSON, J.L. (1908) (ed.) The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- ROBINSON, L. (1979) 'Hawick Public Library until 1904', Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society.
- RUSSELL, J.A. (1971) Education in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright 1560-1970, Newton Stewart, Galloway Gazette Press.
- RUTHERFORD, J and J.H. /

- RUTHERFORD, J and J.H. (1866) The Southern Counties' Register and Directory, Kelso, J. and J.H. Rutherford.
- SAUNDERS, L.J. (1950) Scottish Democracy, 1815-40, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd.
- SCOTLAND, J. (1969) The History of Scottish Education, 2 vols. (all references are to vol. 1), London, University of London Press.
- SCOTT, H. (1917) Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ, vol. 2, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd,
- SHARPE, J. (n.d.) Selkirk: its church, its school and its presbytery, Selkirk, James Lewis.
- SIMPSON, I.J. (1947) Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872, London, University of London Press.
- SMITH, J. (1909) History of Kelso Grammar School, Kelso, J. and J.H. Rutherford.
- SMITH, J.V. (1969) The Founding of the Society in Scotland for Propogating Christian Knowledge, unpublished M.Ed. thesis, Dundee University.
- SMOUT, T.C. (1963) Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd.
- SMOUT, T.C. (1972, paperback edition) A History of the Scottish People, Glasgow, Collins/Fontana.
- SOMERVILLE, M. (1873) Personal Recollections from Early Life to Old Age of Mary Somerville, London, John Murray.
- SOMERVILLE, T. (1861) My Own Life and Times 1741-1814, Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas.
- STEPHENSON, J.W.W. (1973) Education in the Burgh of Dundee in the 18th Century, Scottish Council for Research in Education, Series 3, publication No.2.
- TANCRED, G. (1907) Rulewater and its People, Edinburgh, T. and A. Constable.
- THOMSON, J. (1875) The Life and Times of William Thomson, Kelso, J. and J.H. Rutherford.
- TIMPERLEY, L.R. (1976) 'Directory of Landownership in Scotland, c.1770' Scottish Record Society, new series 5.
- 'T.I.S.' (1970) /

- 'T.I.S.' (1970) 'Education in Hawick at the beginning of the 19th Century', Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society.
- URE, D. (1794) General View of the Agriculture of the County of Roxburgh, London.
- VERNON, J.J. (1902) 'Old Schools and Schoolmasters of Hawick and Wilton', Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society.
- WATSON, G. (1909) 'History of Jedburgh Grammar School', reprinted from Jedburgh Gazette.
- WATSON, G. (1922) 'Old Border Ball-Games', Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society.
- WATTERS, A.M. (1927) 'History of the Orrock Bequest and Two Hundred Years of Secondary Education in Hawick', Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society.
- WHETSTONE, A.E. (1981) Scottish County Government in the 18th Century and the 19th Century, Edinburgh, John Donald.
- WILSON, B.F.A. (1954) 'The Industrial Development of Hawick', Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society.
- WILSON, J. (1850) Annals of Hawick, Edinburgh T. G. Stevenson.
- WILSON, R. (1841) History of Hawick, Hawick, Robert Armstrong.
- WITHRINGTON, D.J. (1962) 'The S.P.C.K. and Highland Schools in mid-Eighteenth Century', Scottish Historical Review, 41.
- WITHRINGTON, D.J. (1963) 'Schools in the Presbytery of Haddington in the 17th Century', Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, 9.
- WITHRINGTON, D.J. (1965) 'Lists of Schoolmasters teaching Latin, 1690', Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, 10.
- WITHRINGTON, D.J. (1970 (i)) 'What is and What Might Be: Some Reflections on the Writing of Scottish Educational History', Scottish Educational Studies, 2(2).
- WITHRINGTON, D.J. /

WITHRINGTON, D.J.
(1970(ii))

'Education and Society in the
18th Century', in PHILLIPSON, N.T.
and MITCHISON, R.
Scotland in the Age of Improvement,
Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

WRIGHT, A. (1898)

The History of Education and of the
Old Parish Schools of Scotland,
Edinburgh, John Menzies and Co.

YOUNGER, J. (1881)

Autobiography of John Younger,
Shoemaker, St. Boswells, Kelso, J.
and J.H. Rutherford.

W., R.L. (1897)

Journal of a Tour from London to
Elgin made about 1790,
Edinburgh, Thomson Brothers.